

"In the new land a new Glengarry"
Migration from the Scottish Highlands to Upper Canada
1750-1820

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Abstract

The integration of Highland Scotland into the southern British state after 1745 occurred in two phases in western Inverness-shire. Between 1746 and 1780, the imposition of government control over the region and the first stages of agricultural improvement did not seriously threaten the traditional life of the clansmen on the land. After 1780, however, the commercialization of the Highland economy, particularly the introduction of large-scale sheep farming, reached a level that broke traditional Highland communities apart and denied the tenants their customary share in a farm. In response to this attack on the fabric of Gaelic society, many clansmen chose to emigrate.

The Highlanders who settled in Glengarry County, Upper Canada, came from neighbouring districts of western Inverness in family-dominated groups of kinsmen and friends. The emigrants were people of modest status, the great majority of whom left Scotland in eight locally controlled, community emigrations. The ninth departure was part of a government-sponsored experiment which the clansmen took advantage of to achieve their own ends. Economic and demographic pressures contributed to the Highlanders' decision to leave, but the character of the emigration from western Inverness reveals that it was their traditional belief in the community's right to land that brought the conservative clansmen of western Inverness confidently to abandon their native glens in such numbers.

In Upper Canada, the emigrants settled together in the new Highland community of Glengarry. The great majority of them acquired farms of their own, 100 or 200 acre Crown grants, or rented land in

the county and its vicinity. The bonds of kinship and friendship brought from Scotland, as well as the newly shared experience of emigration, produced a close-knit community in Glengarry County. The emigrants from western Inverness satisfied their traditional aspiration for land and community.

Preface

This thesis grew out of an interest in emigration first challenged by S.F. Wise's seminar on British North America at Carleton University in 1970-71, and out of a personal interest in cultural continuity and change among Canadians of Highland descent. Once the decision was made to examine emigration in depth, I chose Glengarry County as the subject area because of the manageable size of the county and the density of Highland settlement there. Study at Edinburgh University provided me an opportunity to analyse in detail the economic and social background of emigration from the Highlands.

In my attempt to answer questions about emigration raised by both Scottish and Canadian historians, I am conscious of the difficulty of satisfying either completely. As one who was born and educated in Canada, I could not help but bring some of the biases and perceptions of a Canadian historian to this work. It is difficult to determine whether the thesis will be considered on balance a study in Scottish or in Canadian history; certainly I would argue that it is equally relevant to both. Perhaps a work that is described as Canadian history by Scots and as Scottish history by Canadians will serve as an indication of the fruitful collaboration which might develop among historians of both nationalities.

Maps illustrating the four existing townships of Glengarry are included with the thesis, but reference is made in the text only to the two townships, Charlottenburgh and Lancaster, into which Glengarry was first divided. Originally, Glengarry held only these two townships, each with eighteen "concessions" or rows of farms. Not until 1798 was Charlottenburgh split in half, with the nine northern concessions forming the new township of Kenyon; a similar division

occurred in Lancaster as late as 1818 when Lochiel was created. A farm originally located in the 12th of Lancaster will therefore now be found in the 3rd of Lochiel, and one in the 17th of Charlottenburgh in the 8th of Kenyon.

Many people, both professional and amateur historians, gave me help and encouragement in the preparation of this thesis. My advisors at the University of Edinburgh patiently guided an often uncommunicative student. Philip Wigley died just before the completion of the thesis; for six years, with an unfailing cheerfulness he smoothed administrative problems and offered editorial comment that made this lengthy task easier. T.C. Smout and later Eric Cregeen provided invaluable advice to a new student of Scottish history. Margaret Mackay was always available as an interested and knowledgeable critic. I also gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the staffs of the Scottish Record Office, the National Library of Scotland, the Public Record Office, the Public Archives of Canada, the National Library of Canada, the Public Archives of Ontario, the Kingston Archdiocese Archives, and the Archives de l'Archevêché de Quebec. In particular, I would like to thank Father Mark Dilworth of the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh, and Patricia Kennedy of the Public Archives of Canada.

In Scotland, Donald Cameron of Lochiel and Mrs. Loraine Maclean of Dochgarroch both kindly opened family papers to me. In Canada, Mrs. Florence Macdonell, Mrs. Sybil McPhee, Mr. Alex Fraser, Mr. Ewen Ross, Mrs. Harriet MacKinnon, Mr. and Mrs. John J. MacLeod, and Mrs. Mary Beaton all provided me with information which I have used in this thesis. Beyond these individuals, many other Glengarry County people opened their homes to a stranger and described the history of their

families and neighbourhoods to me; I hope that the resulting work is of interest to them. Dana Johnson very bravely took on the task of criticizing the work of a friend, and his insights proved both stimulating and productive. My father, L.R. McLean, first aroused my interest in Glengarry County with stories of an ancestral home. But my greatest debt is to my husband, Philip Goldring, who listened, commented and guided, even becoming something of a Highland enthusiast himself.

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Table of Abbreviations

A.A.Q.	Archives de l'Archevêché de Quebec
<u>Brit. Mus. Add. Mss.</u>	<u>British Museum Additional Manuscripts</u>
C.H.A.	Canadian Historical Association
Char. Twp.	Charlottenburgh Township
D.N.D.	Department of National Defence
G.D.	Gifts and Deposits
K.A.A.	Kingston Archdiocese Archives
K.R.R.N.Y.	King's Royal Regiment of New York
Lan. Twp.	Lancaster Township
L.C.L.P.	Lower Canada Land Petition
Ld. Bk.	Land Book
M.G.	Manuscript Group
Mss. Glen. Co. Coll.	Manuscript Glengarry County Collection
<u>N.S.A.</u>	<u>New Statistical Account</u>
N.R.R.	North of the River Raisin
<u>O.S.A.</u>	<u>Old Statistical Account</u>
P.A.C.	Public Archives of Canada
P.A.O.	Public Archives of Ontario
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
R.G.	Record Group
R.H.P.	Register House Plan
S.C.A.	Scottish Catholic Archives
<u>S.H.R.</u>	<u>Scottish Historical Review</u>
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office
S.R.R.	South of the River Raisin
<u>T.G.S.I.</u>	<u>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness</u>
U.C.L.P.	Upper Canada Land Petition
U.C.S.	Upper Canada Sundries

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Chapter 1

Introduction

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Highland emigration to Glengarry County, Upper Canada is an integral part of the history of both Scotland and Canada. Perceptions of emigration, however, have generally differed on opposite sides of the Atlantic. In Europe, popular opinion acknowledges the rags-to-riches stories of a few emigrants but sees most of the migrants as unfortunate souls forced to leave their homeland. In the New World the picture is reversed as North Americans, whether second or fifth generation, often regard their emigrant forebears as heroes. On the western shore of the Atlantic, the emigrants are considered a brave people, who took the harder, but ultimately more rewarding task of building a new land. Such basic attitudes towards emigration have had a profound influence on historical writing dealing with European emigration.

These fundamental preconceptions have clearly affected historical accounts of emigration from the Scottish Highlands. On the one hand, Scottish historiography has been marked by a general indifference to emigration. An on-going process that has been part of the fabric of social and economic life in the Highlands since 1800, emigration has not often been the subject of detailed historical inquiry within Scotland. The emigrants are forgotten since they are seemingly irrelevant to national or even regional development. Canadian historians, on the other hand, have shown little interest in understanding or exploring the Highland identity of a significant part of the Canadian population. Canadian emigration studies begin at best on the dock in Greenock with a few general comments on the reasons for

the migration. These complimentary blind spots have prevented historians on either side of the Atlantic from recognizing that the effect of this emigration was to cleave many small Highland communities into two parts. For a period those communities existed on two continents: one part in Scotland and the other part in Upper Canada or the seaboard colonies. A steady flow of emigrants across the Atlantic was the bond which joined the two halves of the communities; both parts shared the same ties of kinship and attachment to traditional Gaelic life. The passage of time and the long-term effect of different economic and social forces, not emigration alone, is what severed the communities.

A comprehensive study of Highland, or indeed of any European, emigration and settlement in Canada must therefore be written from an international perspective. This thesis provides a detailed analysis of Scottish Highland emigration to Glengarry County, Ontario from that perspective. It first explores social and economic conditions in the districts from which the migration to Glengarry occurred, secondly analyses the identity of the emigrants and the circumstances of their departure, and thirdly examines the manner in which they settled in Canada. Each of these three steps is a necessary part of a thorough emigration study. Their combination in a three-fold approach suggests in an important sense that Canadian history begins a generation before emigration and that Highland history is incomplete without an understanding of the substantial migrations overseas.

An international approach is well suited to a study of emigration to Upper Canada's Glengarry County, which was settled almost exclusively by Highlanders. The migration took place within the bounds of the British Empire and was virtually complete within a

period of forty-two years. The first settlers in Glengarry County left Scotland in 1773 for the colony of New York; but the American Revolution sent them as refugees to Canada where they became the nucleus of a new Highland community. Succeeding migrations from the same and adjacent districts were drawn to Glengarry, with the last major group arriving in 1815. The emigrants came from and settled in culturally homogeneous communities; they travelled to Glengarry County in groups of related families from neighbouring districts in Gaelic Scotland. Both the society which the emigrants left and that to which they came were composed of rural, pre-industrial communities dependent on agriculture. Glengarry County therefore provides an excellent focus for a local study of Highland emigration.

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This study of the people who emigrated to Glengarry County is presented in three parts. The first part is a description of social and economic conditions in western Inverness-shire, focusing particularly on those estates from which many of the Glengarry settlers came. The sixty years after 1745 were a time of significant change in the Highlands and it is essential to know precisely how the district had evolved over those years. Malcolm Gray has examined in general terms the changing nature of the Highland economy and agriculture, while James Hunter has sketched a description of the shift in Highland social organization between 1745 and 1820.¹ A detailed analysis of late eighteenth century western Inverness-shire society will improve our understanding both of those broad forces of development identified by Gray and Hunter, and of the manner in which they have operated in a single Highland district.

1 Malcolm Gray, The Highland Economy, (Edinburgh, 1957). James Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community, (Edinburgh, 1976).

While historians have discussed certain aspects of Highland emigration, they have not satisfactorily explained its relationship to the radical social change that occurred in the Highlands in the century after 1745. On a popular level, John Prebble has reinforced the idea that emigration was the inevitable result of over-population, economic decay and the clearances. In his analysis of the Highland economy, Malcolm Gray downplayed the effect of emigration on social development in the Highlands and argued that "comparatively few tenants could be brought to move."² In contrast on a local level, James Hunter has pointed out several instances when Highland tenants responded to major estate changes by emigrating. Recently Michael Flinn attributed the late eighteenth century burst of emigration to the clansmen's recognition that their growing numbers could not be supported by local resources.³ The relevance of these varied perceptions of the causes of emigration will be examined in the case of western Inverness. But whatever conclusions are reached an act as radical as emigration is clearly an important window on the economic and social life of the community which the emigrants left.

The second and major part of this work is a detailed analysis of the people who emigrated to Glengarry and the circumstances of their departure; an attempt is made to identify who the emigrants were, why they left and how the emigration was arranged. Within Scotland, scholars have dealt with eighteenth and early nineteenth century emigration in a variety of works. In 1966, Professor Gordon Donaldson wrote the first general account in modern times of Highland

2 John Prebble, The Highland Clearances, (London, 1973), 187, 189. Gray, Highland Economy, 102.

3 Hunter, Crofting Community, 20, 29, 41. Michael Flinn, "Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes in the Scottish North-West, 1770-1870," in L.M. Cullen & T.C. Smout, Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic and Social History, 1600-1900, (Edinburgh, 1977).

emigration. Donaldson emphasized that emigration studies were part of Scottish history and suggested the need for "a vast amount of original research" in the field. Some fragments for a study of this kind have already appeared. The earliest contribution was made by Margaret Adams in two pioneering articles on Highland emigration published sixty years ago; Adams pointed out the importance of the tacksmen in the 1770 departures, as well as the distinction between those and the 1783 to 1803 emigrations. Adams' conclusion that ignorant tenants emigrated against their own best interests in the 1770s and left as a result of over-population in the 1780s and 1790s now seem patronizing and inadequate.⁴ More interesting is Ian Grimble's article on emigration in the same period from the northern Highlands. Grimble used his study of the 1760 and 1770 emigrations as an entry point into an analysis of the quality of life in the north at that time. A history of one emigration from western Inverness was written by a local author, the Reverend Somerled MacMillan, but his work is limited by its over-attention to the leaders of the party.⁵ Neither at the national nor at the local level have Scottish historians satisfactorily explained the process of emigration from the Highlands in the late eighteenth century.

Canadian scholars first approached Highland emigration within the context of their general surveys of British emigration to the Dominion. Thus Helen Cowan examined British emigration to Canada between 1783 and 1837, while W.A. Carrothers covered an even longer

4 Gordon Donaldson, The Scots Overseas (London, 1966), 9, 212. Margaret Adams, "The Highland Emigration of 1770," SHR vol. XVI (1919), 280-93; also "The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803," SHR vol. XVII (1920), 73-89.

5 Ian Grimble, "Emigration in the Time of Rob Donn, 1714-1778", Scottish Studies, vol. 7, p. 2 (1963), 129-153. Rev. Somerled MacMillan, The Emigration of the Lochaber MacMillans to Canada in 1802 (Paisley, 1958).

period from 1763 to 1929.⁶ Later scholars followed their lead and extended our knowledge of British emigration with an analysis of the relationship between land policies and emigration, and of the development of programs of assisted emigration.⁷ Regional histories such as Charles Dunn's Highland Settler and especially D. Campbell and R.A. MacLean's Beyond the Atlantic Roar explained the pattern of Highland emigration to Nova Scotia in greater detail. Local Glengarry County historians recorded the arrival of the major emigrant groups as well as the number of emigrants and the identity of their leaders. George Sandfield Macdonald collected oral traditions identifying the Glengarry emigrants, while local author Carrie Holmes MacGillivray portrayed the emigrants' experience in fiction.⁸ Such works have suggested some of the characteristics of Highland emigration and have also pointed out a number of its causes. Yet their failure to answer precisely who the emigrants were, how agricultural "improvement" influenced their departure and what was the nature of the emigration to Canada, leaves many of the most significant questions concerning Highland emigration unanswered. It is these questions that a detailed analysis of emigration to a single Canadian county might more successfully address.

6 Helen Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, 1783-1837, (Toronto, 1928). W.A. Carrothers, Emigration from the British Isles, (Westminister, 1929).

7 For land policies, see Norman Macdonald, Canada, 1763-1841. Immigration and Settlement (Toronto, 1939); for assisted emigration, see Hugh Johnston, British Emigration Policy, 1815-30 (Oxford, 1972).

8 Charles Dunn, Highland Settler (Toronto, 1953). D. Campbell & R.A. MacLean, Beyond the Atlantic Roar (Toronto, 1974). Glengarry historians include J.F. Pringle, Lunenburg (Cornwall, 1890); J.A. Macdonell, Sketches of Glengarry (Montreal, 1893); J.G. Harkness, Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry: A History (Cornwall, 1972); R. MacGillivray & E. Ross, A History of Glengarry (Belleville, 1979). George S. Macdonald's five notebooks are preserved in PAC MG29 C29. Carrie Holmes MacGillivray, The Shadow of Tradition (Ottawa, 1927).

The third step of a comprehensive emigration study is to examine where and how the emigrants settled in the New World. General accounts of British emigration have paid little attention to the actual establishment of the emigrants in Canada. An overview of Scottish settlement during the nineteenth century has been provided in one of the essays included in the recently published, The Scottish Tradition in Canada.⁹ Maritime historians interested in the Highlanders in Canada, such as Dunn, Campbell and MacLean, have focused more on the development of Gaelic Canadian communities than on the actual acquisition of land. Local historians of Glengarry County have similarly concentrated on the county in mid- or late-nineteenth century and like Upper Canadian historians generally, have not analysed the relationship between the emigrant, the emigrant group and settlement on the land.¹⁰ Neither emigration nor settlement can be fully understood without reference to the initial placement of the emigrants in their new community.

An emigration study involving the three-stage approach outlined above clearly must be written from an international perspective. This perspective was first used to advantage more than a generation ago in the analysis of Polish, Norwegian and other European emigrations to the United States.¹¹ Recently a variety of local studies have

9 W. Stanford Reid, ed., The Scottish Tradition in Canada (Toronto, 1976).

10 Neither Gagan nor Gaffield link their studies of mid-nineteenth century Upper Canadians with the emigration experience of those people or their parents. See Chad Gaffield, "Canadian Families in Cultural Context: Hypothesis from the Mid-Nineteenth Century," Historical Papers (CHA, 1979); and David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land & Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto, 1981).

11 W.I. Thomas & F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Boston: The Gostram Press, 1920), 5 vols. Theodore Blegen, Norwegian Migration to America, 1825-1860 (Northfield, Minn.: The Norwegian-American Historical Society, 1931).

been published in Canada, making use of the same trans-Atlantic approach. John Manion's Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada drew on Irish social history and material culture studies in order to assess cultural continuity and change in three Irish-Canadian communities. Similarly Rosemary Ommer enriched her analysis of Highland migration to Newfoundland with her knowledge of the role of kinship in Highland societies in both Scotland and Nova Scotia. Philip Goldring's article in Scottish Studies placed the Hudson Bay Company's recruitment of Scottish labourers in the context of local economic development in Lewis. Using both Scottish and Canadian sources, J.M. Bumsted has re-examined some aspects of Highland emigration to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island and attacked the popular myth of forced emigrations.¹² Finally the Tíree project of Edinburgh University's School of Scottish Studies is now nearing completion and promises to include an analysis of local emigration to Canada as an integral part of island history. Each of these studies illustrates the fruitful results of a mastery of both European and Canadian historical sources.

Yet aside from these works on very disparate aspects of nineteenth century British emigration to Canada, historians have shown little sense of the continuity in the emigrants' experience. There is seemingly a lack of interest in asking the same questions about nineteenth century emigration to Upper Canada as have been asked and

12 John Manion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). Rosemary Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland: A Study of Kinship," The Peopling of Newfoundland. J.J. Manion, ed. (St. Johns: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977). Philip Goldring, "Lewis and the Hudson's Bay Company in the Nineteenth Century," Scottish Studies vol. 24, 1980. J.M. Bumsted, "Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New Look at an Old Theme," Acadiensis, vol. X, no. 2 (1981); also, "Sir James Montgomery & Prince Edward Island, 1767-1803," Acadiensis, vol. VII (1978).

have given such insight into twentieth century emigrant communities. One student of modern emigration, R.F. Harney, has argued in favour of the "study of villages and towns of emigration and...of the migrant's mindset as a key to his North American experience."¹³ The examination of Highland emigration to Glengarry County from an international perspective will provide such a key for one Upper Canadian emigrant group. The focus of this study is on the emigrants themselves. It is on those clansmen whose individual lives encompassed the years of crumbling certainties after 1745, the momentous decision to emigrate and the establishment of a new, avowedly Highland community in Upper Canada. The nature of the community which the Glengarry settlers sought to create can best be understood with reference to its roots in the society which they had left behind.

(iii)

A profound conservatism has been the outstanding characteristic of Highland society over many generations. This conservatism has not produced a static society, but rather has "constantly moderat[ed] ...the forces of change, and absorb[ed]...innovations into a traditional way of life."¹⁴ The essential feature of Highland society has been continuity over time, a continuity that is apparent even through social change; the events of the late eighteenth century brought a repetition of this theme. A study of Highland emigration to Glengarry County is an analysis of one response by this conservative

13 R.F. Harney, "Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930," Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. XI no. 1, 1979. Joy Parr has examined the British and Canadian experience of British emigrant children in Labouring Children (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1980).

14 Eric Cregeen, "The Tacksmen and their Successors," Scottish Studies, vol. XIII (1969), 119.

society to the radical social change that transformed the Highlands in the century after 1745.

The Highlands' long independence and isolation from southern Britain was breached in the seventeenth century, yet traditional life and values remained essentially intact even at the time of Culloden. After 1745, the movement to integrate the Highlands into the commercial southern state intensified, challenging the validity of the older Gaelic perception of the proper relationship between men and the land. At first during the period from 1745 to 1780, new commercial values had only a modest impact on daily life, although changes occurred in the enforcement of law, in provision for education and transport, and the outlook of Highland leaders, that later contributed to the rapid breakdown of the old social order. Landlords and government officials in western Inverness attempted to "improve" Highland agriculture largely by working within the traditional joint-farm economy. West Highland tenants slowly accepted improvements such as the fencing of farms and fields, but traditional social relationships and interdependence remained strong. However, in the years following 1780, the shift into capital-intensive sheep farming and the introduction of crofting settlements deprived west Highland tenants of land and of a living which they believed to be rightly their own.

The Highlanders responded to such radical change with large-scale emigration. On the Glengarry estate, as on many others, the landlord chief imposed heavy rent increases in the 1770s which alienated tenants and in particular clan gentlemen; the latter were then particularly prominent as the tacksmen leaders of the first large emigration. After 1780 as a loss of land began seriously to

affect Highland communities, emigration from western Inverness intensified. The emigrants to Glengarry County left the Highlands accompanied by their own and related families. They travelled to Canada in locally organized emigrant groups from neighbouring estates in western Inverness and adjacent districts. The emigrants were drawn primarily from the class of joint tenants, whose traditional cattle farms were eliminated in the reforms but whose stock furnished them with the capital needed for the voyage. Both the occasion and the manner of their going suggests the tenants' continuing loyalty to kin and neighbours. They sought in Canada the secure possession of land which had been denied them in Scotland. What took such a conservative people across the Atlantic was the traditional belief in their right to land and a desire to live amongst kin.

Once the western Inverness-shire link with Glengarry County was established in 1784, successive groups of Highlanders emigrated to the county from a gradually increasing radius about western Inverness. Settlement in the new Glengarry was influenced by the availability of land and the Highlanders' desire to live in the vicinity of kin and neighbours. The emigrants did not attempt to reproduce either the land-holding or the demography of a traditional Highland community. Instead they eagerly took advantage of the colonial government's generous land grants between 1784 and 1796 to acquire 200 acres of land per family. After 1796, land was not as easy to obtain, but even though land holdings in Glengarry were not subdivided to accommodate later emigrants, these still managed to settle amongst their western Inverness kin and neighbours in Glengarry and adjacent counties. Both the traditional ties of kinship and the newly forged bonds of the emigrant group determined the character of settlement in Glengarry County. Faced with the loss of

ancestral lands and with commercially motivated chiefs, Highland emigrants to Glengarry chose the new course of emigration and accepted land in Canada on terms entirely different from those which they had known in Scotland. In choosing this form of social change, the emigrants attempted to preserve the traditional inter-dependence of kin and community in a place where their much-valued right to land was respected.

An international approach to the analysis of Highland emigration can thus reconcile the separate European and Canadian accounts of emigration. Detailed examination of Highland emigration to Glengarry County reveals the conservative impetus behind the 1770 to 1815 emigrations in a period of change. While emigration was one of the major changes experienced in the Highlands after 1750, it was, paradoxically, also one of the ways by which clansmen attempted to conserve a part of traditional life.

SCOTLAND



KEY

- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| 1 Edinburgh | 6 Morar |
| 2 Inverness | 7 Knoydart |
| 3 Glenmoriston | 8 Glenelg |
| 4 Glengarry | 9 Kintail |
| 5 Lochiel | 10 Bracadale |

Chapter 2

Western Inverness-shire after 1745

(i)

The roots of Highland emigration lie in the nature of Gaelic society and the forces of change which beset it in the eighteenth century. In 1745 at the beginning of the period under consideration, traditional Gaelic society remained essentially intact in the Highlands. The 150 years preceeding the Jacobite Rebellion had brought growing economic and political involvement with southern Britain, particularly for Highland leaders, without substantially altering traditional social organization or agriculture. While the Jacobite defeat in 1746 is popularly considered the principal cause of change in the Highlands over the following hundred years, sweeping social change would in fact have occurred whether or not Jacobite fought Hanoverian on Culloden Moor. Still, the 1745-46 Rebellion offers more than a convenient reference point from which to discuss social change in the Highlands. In reaction to the Rebellion, Parliament passed Acts affecting social and economic life in the Highlands, southern law was more determinedly enforced there, and perhaps more significantly, southern leaders were convinced of the necessity of integrating Gaelic Scotland into the United Kingdom. The years immediately after 1746 represent the point when the tide of change turned decisively against traditional society in the Highlands.

It is from what is the geographic centre of Gaelic Scotland that the largest number of emigrants to Glengarry County came. Western Inverness-shire lies almost in the middle of the Gaidhealtachd: to the north are Ross and Cromarty, and Sutherland; to the east on the mountainous spine of Scotland are Badenoch and Atholl; to the south

are Argyllshire and Morvern; while off to the west are the Hebrides. The people of this area shared the Gaelic inheritance common to all the Highlands of a kin-based, agrarian society with a rich musical and linguistic tradition. The two clans who were the most prominent in settling Glengarry County were the Macdonells of Glengarry and the McMillans of Loch Arkaig. The Macdonells, who considered themselves the heirs of the Lords of the Isles and were thoroughly Jacobite, controlled not only Glengarry but also Knoydart and North Morar. The McMillans and related clansmen the McPhees and McMartins were supporters of Cameron of Lochiel, a no less fervent believer in the Stuart cause. The periphery of western Inverness also furnished emigrants for Upper Canada: McLeods came from Glenelg, McKenzies and McLennans from Kintail, Grants from Glenmoriston, Chisholms from Strathglass, and Macdonalds from Clanranald's lands in South Morar and Eigg. The emigrants to Glengarry County were drawn from this central district of the Scottish Highlands.

In the eighteenth century western Inverness was noted as one of the most rugged and lawless parts of the Highlands; its geography is typified in the land about the watersheds of Lochs Arkaig and Quoich, known as the "Rough Bounds." In prehistoric times this land was like most of the Highlands a high, plateau-like upland, but the erosive action of rivers and glaciers served to form the east-west system of valleys and mountain ridges that can be seen today. As the watershed lies near the west coast, the rivers and valleys of Knoydart, Glenelg and Kintail are short and steep, while those of Lochiel and Glengarry are longer and more gently graded. Yet much of the old plateau remains in the many summits over 3000' with their subsidiary hills and ridges. The only land under 1000' in altitude is found in

narrow strips along the coastline and up river valleys. Good arable ground is thus widely scattered and found only in small patches.

There is also great variation in climate in western Inverness, dictated mainly by altitude. Land along the coast of Morar, Knoydart and Glenelg is subject to the warm currents of the North Atlantic Drift. The temperature here is mild with little difference between winter and summer means, while an average of 60 to 100" of rain falls annually. The mountains and higher hills within Glenelg and Knoydart, and dividing Glengarry from Lochiel show a more extreme picture of wide seasonal variation in temperature, and a heavy rainfall that reaches a peak of 170" annually in the watershed area. The inland valleys of Glengarry, Loch Arkaig and Loch Eil do not have the extremes of temperature of the mountains around them and rainfall drops to 80" or less in their eastern bounds. Geography and climate combined to create a rugged, spectacular land in western Inverness-shire.¹

At the time of the 1745 uprising, society throughout this area was still organized on a traditional basis. The clan chiefs maintained their position as leaders of their people and owners of most of the clan lands. The Glengarry family estate included Abertarff on the east side of Loch Ness, the long valleys of Glen Quioch and Glen Garry with the hill land to the north and south of them, and the peninsulas of Knoydart and North Morar. The sale in 1769 of the Abertarff and North Morar properties to repay the greater part of Glengarry's debts marked the first step in this chief's loss of family lands and followers.² Although part of Knoydart was held

1 For more detailed information, see F. Fraser Darling, The Highlands and Islands. (London: Collins, 1972), 1-21; and G. Scott-Johnstone, The Western Highlands. (Edinburgh: Cox & Wyman, 1973), 11-22.

2 Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes. 2nd Series (Inverness, 1897), 124. SRO GD25/25/26. The Duke of Gordon showed an interest in purchasing Abertarff, which lay adjacent to his estate.

directly by Glengarry, roughly one-third of the peninsula was in the possession of Macdonell of Barisdale, on a wadsett from Glengarry.³

Another smaller estate in Knoydart was owned outright by Macdonell of Scotus. Both Barisdale and Scotus had received their lands in Knoydart as descendants of younger sons of previous Glengarry chiefs.

The McMillans dominated Loch Arkaig, the northern third of Cameron of Lochiel's estate. The chief of clan Cameron held the land south of Glengarry bounded by Loch Lochy and the river Lochy and by Loch Eil, as well as the lands on the eastern shore of Loch Linnhe as far south as Ballachulish. Unlike the Macdonells of Glengarry, the Cameron chiefs prior to 1745 were good financial managers who left the estate "in very good Circumstance" with little debt on it.⁴ To the northwest was Glenelg, the mainland possession of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, Skye. Norman MacLeod, chief of the clan in 1745, spent most of his life away from his estates and left a large debt on them at the time of his death in 1772. MacKenzie of Seaforth had forfeited his lands in Kintail and Glenshiel after the 1715 rebellion, but regained them in 1726. In Strathglass and Glenmoriston, the Chisholm and the Laird of Grant maintained their ancient estates. The year 1745, then, marked a time when the clans of this area, with the exception of the MacLeods, still lived under the direction of their chiefs. As in the distant past the chief was no mere landowner

3 The wadsett was, very loosely, a form of mortgage common in the Highlands and used to raise money. In return for the loan of a certain sum, a landowner would allow the lender the use of particular farms. These farms were usually rented out by the lender and the income thus produced served as interest on the loan. The wadsett could be redeemed by the landowner only at a stated time upon repayment of the loan, whereupon the farmland came under his direct control again.

4 SRO E768/29/1 Memorial of William Alston. Large debts were chronic on Highland estates throughout the eighteenth century.

but a paternal ruler around whom revolved economic affairs, the right to justice and much social life.

Next to the chief in social position were the tacksmen, many of whom were kinsmen. Traditionally the tacksmen had served as the chief's military lieutenants in war and as his estate managers in peacetime. When given a tack or lease, usually on generous terms, the tacksmen farmed a part of the land with the help of servants and rented the remainder to sub-tenants; their rent to him generally more than paid his rent to the chief. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, the tacksmen's role was changing. With the decline of the clan as a fighting force, particularly after 1745, the chief came to see the tacksmen merely as an unnecessary middleman, creaming off rents which the chief could easily enjoy himself. Some tacksmen managed to become property holders in their own right, usually having taken advantage of a chief's financial weakness in order to do so. Others were to be put in the position of having to accept new leases on much more rigorous terms, with little left to distinguish them from other tenants. In 1745 the tacksmen were probably the class of Gaelic society most immediately threatened by change, although they potentially had the education and social position to profit from it.

At the bottom of the social pyramid were the clansmen, the great majority of the population. Within this group there was considerable difference in economic and social status. The chief tenants were men of standing in the community: they were prosperous and usually possessed a substantial farm either alone or shared with another. Beneath them were the joint-tenants and sub-tenants, who held correspondingly smaller amounts of farmland. Cottars and servants were at the bottom of the pyramid; they had no share in a

farm and were the poorest element in the community. Although in the eye of Scottish law, land belonged to the chief who had a legal title to it, the clansmen believed that each of them had a right to the use of a piece of land appropriate to their social standing, somewhere on the clan lands.

The economic backbone of this traditional social order was a subsistence agriculture based on cattle. Blackadder's description of the economy of Skye and North Uist, although made some fifty years later, could be applied equally well to this area at the time of the rebellion:

At present every Family in the Country is a Kind of independent Colony of itself, They turn up what part of the Soil is necessary to support them with Meal..., take their own Fish, Manufacture, and make the most of their own cloaths and Husbandry utensils. Their cows supply them in Summer with Butter and Milk, after which a few of them are sold to pay for the small spot on which they live.⁵

The large estates were divided into farms of varying sizes and quality; a farm could be held by one man or, more commonly, shared by a number of tenants. Almost all of these farms had only a small amount of arable land suitable for growing grain; the remaining acreage was given over to pasture.⁶ Each farm had rough pasture, including summer grazings known as sheilings, in the hills at some distance from the farmhouse. Small bothies built on the sheilings provided shelter for those who accompanied the cattle there during the short grazing season. The agricultural tools used were simple and home-made. Because of the steepness of the terrain, the spade or cas-chrom

5 SRO RH2/8/24, 107-8, Blackadder's Survey, 1799.

6 For example, only three of Cameron of Lochiel's farms, Ballachulish, Onich and Moy produced enough corn to sell a surplus.

rather than the plough was used to dig the soil. Few of the area's inhabitants had access to a mill; instead they ground their grain by hand between two stones called a quern. Their houses were simply constructed of thatch and turf with a few pieces of homemade furniture inside.⁷

The primitive nature of Highland agriculture must not be judged on modern terms. As Malcolm Gray has pointed out, older farming practices represented a balance between the physical environment and possible farming techniques on one hand, and social considerations on the other. Since a large population was a military necessity, labour saving practices in an area with no alternate employment were pointless. Instead, "any device, however labourious, that would increase...yield [per acre] was justified."⁸ The land itself provided no large areas of fertile ground that might serve as an enticement to improved agrarian practices, and the climate, varying from the overwhelmingly wet and mild to the sub-arctic, set further limitations on agricultural techniques. Traditional Highland agriculture had achieved a relatively successful balance between the needs of the people and the availability of resources.

One of the strengths of traditional Highland society in 1745 was the continuing vitality of Gaelic cultural life. Certain literary forms had disappeared in the seventeenth century with the demise of the aristocratic bard. In response, poets and the clansmen themselves created new poetic styles and developed a tradition of song into a rich literary achievement in a cultural flowering that

7 For cas-chrom, see SRO E741/46, 1. For mill, see SRO E768/32/2 and SRO E741/38/2; the mill at Achnacarry on the Lochiel estate was destroyed by Cumberlands troops in 1746, but was eventually rebuilt in 1759. For housing see SRO E768/36/4, Memorial of Henry Butter.

8 Malcolm Gray, The Highland Economy, 35.

lasted until the end of the eighteenth century. While external social pressures had forced this major disruption in Gaelic cultural life, certain continuities were evident between Gaelic literature of the late Middle Ages and that of the pre-emigration period. The new poets used the same images, close observation and extensive detail, and expressed the same love of nature and religious belief as had the earlier bards.⁹ In this renewal of the Gaelic cultural tradition can be seen the thread of continuity during a time of social change that is so characteristic of Highland society.

(ii)

The precise implications for Highland development of the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 might be a subject of debate for historians, but not so the severe reprisals that immediately followed. The final defeat of Prince Charles Edward's army at Culloden left western Inverness-shire open to the advance of the victorious Hanoverian army. Most of the region's inhabitants were Jacobite in sympathy and they had formed the backbone of the Prince's army. The Whig government was determined to destroy the military power of the Highland chiefs and to punish the supporters of the rebellion. Thus Acts forbidding the wearing of Highland dress, disarming all clansmen and abolishing Heritable Jurisdictions were passed; many men were attainted and some were executed, and the military was given considerable freedom to pursue rebels and establish control over the region. The government was clearly motivated in much of what they did by a general dislike and dread of Highland society, since even those clans who had remained loyal to King George were forced to comply with the new laws.

9 See Derick Thomson's excellent book, An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1974).

In western Inverness-shire, the easily accessible Cameron of Lochiel estate was particularly vulnerable to military reprisals: the garrison at Fort William was located virtually in the centre of the estate.¹⁰ In a list of damages submitted to the Forfeit Estates Commissioners, Lochiel's tenants and wadsetters claimed damages during 1746 and 1747 of a total of £7024.11s.11d. All but three of the thirty-seven farms on the estate complained of losses, which were especially heavy in the first year. Crops were completely destroyed, houses and furnishings burned or removed, and stock taken away by His Majesty's troops. The destruction was endured by rich and poor alike: Angus McPhie, tenant in Erracht, lost stock, furniture and house to a value of £16.15s., while Ewan Cameron, wadsetter of Erracht, lost seventy-nine great and small cows, three mares, four draught and two riding horses, a colt and a filly, two swans, seven pigs, eight sheep, silver plate, furnishings and houses to a total value of £220.13s.4d.¹¹ In a region where livestock was the principal wealth of the people, the loss of so much stock meant an inability to pay rents and in many cases extreme hardship and near starvation.

After the initial plundering by Cumberland's army, the continued presence of government authority (in the enforcement of justice in this remote area and in the administration of estates annexed to the Crown) resulted in a difficult period of adjustment for the inhabitants. In 1747 the tenants of the Cameron estate seemed likely

10 Other inhabitants of western Inverness also suffered, including Macdonell of Glengarry who had not participated in the rebellion personally. His estate was laid waste, the tenants' houses were burnt, and the family home destroyed, with charter and papers carried away.

11 SRO E768/41. List of losses: For McPhie, see E768/41/3, and for Cameron, see E768/41/23.

to refuse to permit government troops to be quartered among them. In this instance Donald Campbell, factor for the Duke of Argyll, intervened on behalf of the tenants. Campbell pointed out that the quartering of troops was usually prejudicial to the area concerned and he asked as well that Lochiel's tenants be forgiven any arrears of Cess "in regard to the circumstances of the present possessors, and how much they suffered in consequence of the late Troubles."¹² Not all men in positions of authority were as conscious as Campbell of the Highlanders' difficulty in adapting to the new regime. The attitude of George Douglas, a Sheriff-Substitute at Fort William, represented the hard-line approach that many officials followed. He believed that "in this Country when they have been very little accustomed to have the Laws dispensed amongst them we must keep up Authority even tho some times I may be luyable to commit some errors in the execution of my Office."¹³ With such a rigorous administration of the law, it is obvious that the time of transition to the new legal order was likely to prove painful for the inhabitants of western Inverness-shire.

As was the usual practice after an unsuccessful rebellion, the estates of forty-one prominent Jacobites were forfeit to the Crown and later sold. However, the British government's grim determination to eliminate the underlying causes of rebellion and to change the nature of Highland society took them a step beyond this in the case of thirteen Highland Jacobites. The estates of these men were annexed to the Crown and the rents and profits produced by their

12 The Duke of Argyll held a subject superiority over part of Cameron of Lochiel' estate. SRO E768/11/3, Donald Campbell to John Cameron of Fassifern, 28 December 1747.

13 SRO E768/12/6/1, George Douglas to D. Moncrieff, 8 February 1753.

administration were set aside for the purpose:

...of civilizing the Inhabitants upon said Estates and other parts of the Highlands of Scotland, the promoting amongst them the Protestant Religion, good Government, Industry and Manufactures, and the Principles of Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors.¹⁴

In western Inverness, Archibald Macdonell's Barisdale and Donald Cameron's Lochiel were both forfeit to the Crown and then included among the Annexed Estates.¹⁵ Strictly speaking, the Crown should not have annexed Barisdale since Macdonell held it merely on a wadsett from Glengarry. However the Glengarry chief failed to put forward his claim during the allotted time and Barisdale was annexed with other Highland estates in 1752. The feudal superiorities that the Dukes of Argyll and Gordon held over Lochiel prevented the annexation of that estate until the Crown purchased these rights in 1770.

The British government assigned the task of civilizing Barisdale and Lochiel, along with the other forfeited and annexed estates, first to the Scottish Barons of the Exchequer and then to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates. Through their administration of the estates, these officials -- Edinburgh lawyers and Lowland gentlemen -- introduced the values and practices of the commercial agriculture and economy of southern Britain to western Inverness. The manner in which the people of Barisdale and Lochiel responded to the reforms of the Barons and Commissioners, as well as to the more general changes of this period, will be analysed in subsequent chapters of this work. The administrators of the Annexed Estates were the

14 Virginia Willis, ed. Reports on the Annexed Estates, 1755-69, (Edinburgh, 1973). Introduction.

15 Other Annexed Estates on the southern fringe of western Inverness were Callart, Ardsheall and Kinlochmoydart, none of which sent more than a few emigrants to Glengarry County.

vanguard of those who brought new social and economic ideas to western Inverness in the eighteenth century. Similar change occurred on other Highland estates but it generally happened neither as quickly nor as thoroughly as on the Annexed Estates.

Yet before such reform could be initiated, the government had to consolidate its position in the Highlands; the defeat of the Jacobite army in 1746 did not immediately ensure complete government control of the north. Most dramatically, Prince Charles Edward, after several months wandering through the western Highlands and Islands escaped to France. The region of Knoydart, in spite of naval patrols in the west and mobile military patrols on its eastern bounds, remained a haven for Jacobites as late as 1753. Mungo Campbell, factor of several Forfeited Estates in western Inverness, described the situation in Knoydart with some indignation, proposing to:

...bring the people there, to some subjection by innitiating them in payment of Rents to the Crown; My Commission directs me to call for and recover all Rents and arrears due by them, And they have had the insolence, Ever Since the Year 1746 to pay their Rents to the Attainted Barisdale who Since that time absolutely rules them, And Ranges up and down that country and the neighbourhood with a band of Armed men dressed as well as himself, in the Highland habite, The insolence and Tyranny of this outlaw is already well known to the Government, and the military, to whom he has created a deal of trouble; He has augmented the number of his associates, since I have been named factor; And Since his having been informed of my...resolution to make the Rents Effectual to the Crown, he had had the good manners to send me anonymous Letters and Diverse verbal messages to be upon my guard in case I went to that country....¹⁶

The Barisdale referred to was Archibald Macdonell, who had been nineteen years old when he participated in the uprising and whose father

16 SRO E768/5/2, Mungo Campbell to D. Moncrieff, 12 June 1753.

Coll Macdonell had died in Edinburgh Castle in 1747. Barisdale was captured shortly after this letter was written, possibly as a result of this action by Campbell. But his seven years of freedom after the failure of the rebellion and his, rather than the government's, collection of the rents on a "forfeited estate" illustrate the length of time it took for government control actually to be made effective in these mountainous regions.

Traditional Highland society was by nature conservative, and the forces set into motion by the political upheaval of 1745 took effect slowly. Yet, arguably from the time of the Jacobite Rebellion, the pace of social and economic change in this region increased dramatically. The change that occurred in the Highlands was more sweeping than what was experienced in lowland Scotland or England at the same time. The defeat of the Jacobite uprising in 1746 meant that for the first time the Highland area was brought under the direct rule of a central government in the south. The patriarchal and traditional society of the north was to be made an integral part of the oligarchic and commercial kingdom of Great Britain. By a combination of government policy and new geographic and social links, the Highlands were to be reorganized in the image of lowland Scotland and the north was to participate in the economic and social concerns of the southern kingdom. At the same time, however, England and southern Scotland were entering a period of intense social change that was to result in the emergence of the first modern industrial state. The Highlanders were subject to a part of this tremendous change at a time when their own society was still less complex and more traditionally organized than that of southern Britain. The entire period from 1746 to 1803 stands as a time of disintegration

of the traditional order in the Highlands and of the introduction of new social and economic values.

The changes that took place in western Inverness after the '45 did not occur easily or immediately. The conquest of the Highlands had been painful and the new rule of southern law was established slowly. Active Jacobitism may have ended, but family or group interests could still provide a focus for opposition to official policies.¹⁷ The change and conflict found in Highland society during the second half of the eighteenth century revolved as much around cultural as economic issues. Until 1745, Lowlanders had paid little attention to the Highland people and culture: the region was inaccessible and seemingly contained nothing of value but cattle. But after sixty years of Jacobite discontent, the Lowlanders turned their attention northwards to the people who had "nearly subverted the constitution of these powerful kingdoms."¹⁸ The letters and accounts of numerous travellers and government officials expressed in shocked tones the distaste they felt for the way of life they found there. It was with such total disdain for older cultural traditions that economic and social change was introduced to the Highlands after 1745. An intensely conservative society and culture, weakened by the events of the preceeding hundred years, was subjected to fundamental economic and social change. The fever of emigration that followed was one response made to this change by the people of western Inverness.

17 The appointment in 1757 of a new minister for the parish of Kilmallie (which was almost contiguous with the Lochiel estate) was the subject of an acrimonious dispute between Jacobites and government officials in the area. See SRO E768/13/10, D. McVicar & M. Campbell to D. Moncrieff, 15 July 1757.

18 T.C. Smout, A History of the Scottish People, (London: Collins/Fontana, 1972), 314.

Chapter 3

Barisdale

(i)

The transformation of Archibald Macdonell of Barisdale from Jacobite outlaw to improving farmer is symbolic of the radical change which took place in western Inverness between 1750 and 1780. Macdonell's participation in the Jacobite campaign and seven years as an outlaw in Knoydart have already been described. After his capture Barisdale was imprisoned until 1762 when a pardon from King George the Third enabled him to serve creditably as a lieutenant in Colonel Graham's Regiment. The regiment, however, was reduced to half-pay at the end of the Seven Years' War and Macdonell was forced to look for a further source of income to support his family. In 1763 he therefore applied to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates for a lease of several farms on his forfeited property. Macdonell explained that in his:

...Situation he has turned his thoughts to farming and Grazing, for which his Disposition to active life gives him a naturall turn, And humbly thinks that with the Countenance of the Board of Annexed Estates his labours might now be of use, not only for the support of his family, But also as an example to others in a quarter where Indolence and Ignorance have hitherto so much prevailed, that the Ideas of improvement are received with aversion, and which aversion might perhaps be most easily and gently overruled by the Example of a native now enlightened by Experience, and determined to duty, both by the ties of gratitude and necessity.¹

What seems at first glance an extraordinary request was indeed likely to appeal to the Commissioners, since it reflected southern attitudes towards the Highlands and concurred with their plans for improvement.

1 SRO E741/30/1. Petition read by Board on 15 Dec 1763.

The change of outlook that Barisdale's career reveals was by no means unique and illustrates the radical effect which conditions after 1745 had on many Highland gentlemen.² In youth, Macdonell had been brought up in the most conservative Highland tradition of personal rule over an estate, with a profitable sideline in cattle rustling; in middle age he accepted government control over his property, spoke of Highlanders as ignorant and lazy, and hoped to introduce agricultural improvement to his forfeited estate. Within this transformation lay a crucial acceptance of three factors which changed the face of Highland society after 1745. The imposition of southern authority and law deprived Highland justice of its local character and made unnecessary the organization of the clan as a military unit. The individualistic goals and values of commercial capitalism seriously undermined the interdependent social and economic relationships of traditional society. And finally, southern valuation of Gaelic culture as barbaric and useless was unlikely to allow for a compromise between Highland and Lowland objectives. The movement of Archibald Macdonell of Barisdale -- and many other Highland gentlemen alive in 1745, or their sons -- from a commitment to traditional Gaelic society to an avowal of southern values and goals suggests the intensity of change in the Highlands in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The clansmen of Barisdale responded to the new social order more conservatively than did the gentlemen. In the ensuing chapter, a picture is drawn of Barisdale in 1755, when society and agriculture

2 Smout, Scottish People, 322-4. The roots of this change can of course be found in the first half of the eighteenth century and, to a lesser extent, in the seventeenth century.

remained essentially traditional. An account is then given of the economic and social forces which affected the estate over the next thirty years, focusing on the efforts of the Annexed Estates officers to improve agriculture and to provide basic facilities such as roads, bridges, churches and schools. The clansmen adapted readily to those changes which were reasonably compatible with traditional objectives and which clearly improved their standard of living. While the tenants were forced to accept a shift in authority over estate matters and questions of justice from paternal clan leaders to an impersonal, foreign government, local groups of kinsmen were left in possession of ancestral lands. The people of Barisdale accepted some change between 1755 and 1784 because southern administrators did not threaten a fundamental tradition of Gaelic society, the right of the kin to land.

(ii)

The estate of Barisdale occupied less than half the peninsula of Knoydart on the west coast of Scotland, across the Sound of Sleat from the island of Skye. The rugged nature of the area in general has already been mentioned but Knoydart's mountainous grandeur cannot be overemphasized. Knoydart is really alpine in character: its steep hills rise sharply from the sea and the eastern part of the peninsula is dominated by six peaks over 2900' and their subsidiary ridges. The northern and southern boundaries of the peninsula are formed by two long and very deep sea lochs that resemble Norwegian fiords. Four narrow river valleys, with small amounts of flat land near their mouths, provide most of the arable ground. Eighteenth century man who loved order and reason found this wild terrain both

unattractive and menacing. Surveyor William Morison described the area near Lochnevis head as having "the most horrid appearance in nature and by far the most terrible in Knoydart[;] Nothing to be seen but perpendicular and projecting Rocks, one lying above another, without pile of grass."³ The roughness of the land makes travel from place to place within the peninsula difficult and limits access to the rest of mainland Scotland. All the physical factors that made agriculture and economic development hard to improve in the Highlands -- lack of good soil, poor climate, distance from large markets and lack of valuable mineral resources -- are found together here.

In this rugged country of limited resources, considerable demographic pressure was building after mid-eighteenth century. Of the 835 Highlanders who lived in Knoydart in 1755, 334 is a reasonable estimate of the number who lived on the Barisdale estate.⁴ In that same year, the Barisdale factor prepared a detailed, and clearly reliable, report for the Annexed Estates Commissioners concerning the 38 tenants of the estate and their families.⁵ The 249 people whom he described formed close to 75% of the population of Barisdale; population trends in such a relatively large group are of interest in themselves and may well have been repeated in the tenant population across the peninsula. Half of the 249 Barisdale tenant family members were less than eighteen years old: 32% of the population was under ten years, while another 18½% were boys and girls between ten

3 SRO E741/46, Description of the Barisdale farms, 33-4.

4 See Appendix A for the sources for these figures and the means by which they were reached.

5 The factor, Mungo Campbell, visited Knoydart and interviewed most of the tenants in order to obtain accurate information for his report. Statistics of the Annexed Estates, 1755-56 (Edinburgh, 1973), 4-5.

and seventeen. The remaining 50% of the population was eighteen years and over, with women outnumbering men, 69 to 55.

In contrast, Michael Flinn has shown that in Webster's 1755 census children under ten formed 25½% of the Scottish population, while those between ten and nineteen equalled 18½%.⁶ The structure of the tenant population in Barisdale evidently differed substantially from that in Scotland as a whole. It is possible that the unbalanced number of men and women in Barisdale, which was more severe than the Scottish norm, was one of the effects of the unsuccessful Jacobite campaign of 1745-46. But far more startling was the large percentage of children under the age of ten in the Barisdale community. A sudden upswing in the birth rate seems to have occurred in the mid-1740s which, especially if it were maintained, would have resulted in a very large increase of population by the end of the century.

While tenant families were, seemingly, growing quickly, there is no evidence available concerning the rate of growth of the non-tenant population. Indeed even the number of people other than tenants resident on the Barisdale estate is not precisely known. In Appendix A, it is suggested that Barisdale had 334 inhabitants; since 249 of these were members of tenant families, there were some 85 people in the servant and cottar families on the estate. The servants and cottars made their living doing agricultural and household work for the tenants. A labourer in 1755 earned at best eighteen shillings per annum, two pairs of brogues and his maintenance, and he was given a small plot of ground for planting oats. Servant maids were paid six shillings, brogues and maintenance, while

6 Michael Flinn, ed., Scottish population history (Cambridge, 1977), 257.

herdsmen received double the labourers' wages, and the same in shoes and support. There are few references to these people in the reports and correspondence of the Annexed Estates' factor, which might perhaps be a confirmation of their relatively insignificant numbers.⁷

In 1755 Barisdale was still a close-knit, traditional Highland community. Kinship forged strong bonds among families and gave an intimate quality to daily life that is occasionally reflected in the written record. Thus in the 1755 Judicial Rental of Barisdale, Mungo Campbell listed the ties of kinship that linked the tenants of four farms. The farm of Sallachry was shared by a father and son, and that of Glaschoille by a father and son-in-law; four tenants, three of whom were siblings, held Achagleen and Gorsten, while three brothers possessed the farm of Riddarroch.⁸ Clearly, slightly more distant blood relationships such as first or second cousin must have linked some of the joint tenants of other farms, and have been common across the relatively small population of Barisdale, and even across the larger population of Knoydart.

In this kin-based community, the tenants were all small farmers without legal title to the land they farmed. Indeed, ownership of the land in the modern sense of an individual's exclusive right over it was quite foreign to the Barisdale tenants at mid-eighteenth century. They instead still firmly believed that every man had a

7 This figure may seriously under-represent the number of cottars etc. in Barisdale, if my estimate that Barisdale held 40% of Knoydart's population is wrong. Nonetheless, even if Barisdale held 50% of Knoydart's population (418 people), tenants would still outnumber the others, 249 to 169. For the two references to servants or cottars in Barisdale that came to light, see SRO E741/38/2, Butter to Commissioners, read 21 Feb 1763; also Reports of the Annexed Estates, 51.

8 SRO E741/20/1, Judicial Rental of Barisdale taken by Mungo Campbell, 1755.

right to his farm in proportion to the rent he paid. The tenants' feeling of possession of their land was strengthened by the communal practice of certain farming routines. Each tenant separately owned a number of cattle, but these were herded together and grazed freely over the entire farm; many other farm operations were carried on in common. Small villages or bailtean grew up on the farms and provided an ideal home for the development of a rich folk culture. The tremendous vitality and meaning given to daily life by this culture in turn provided an incentive for maintaining the traditional demographic pattern.

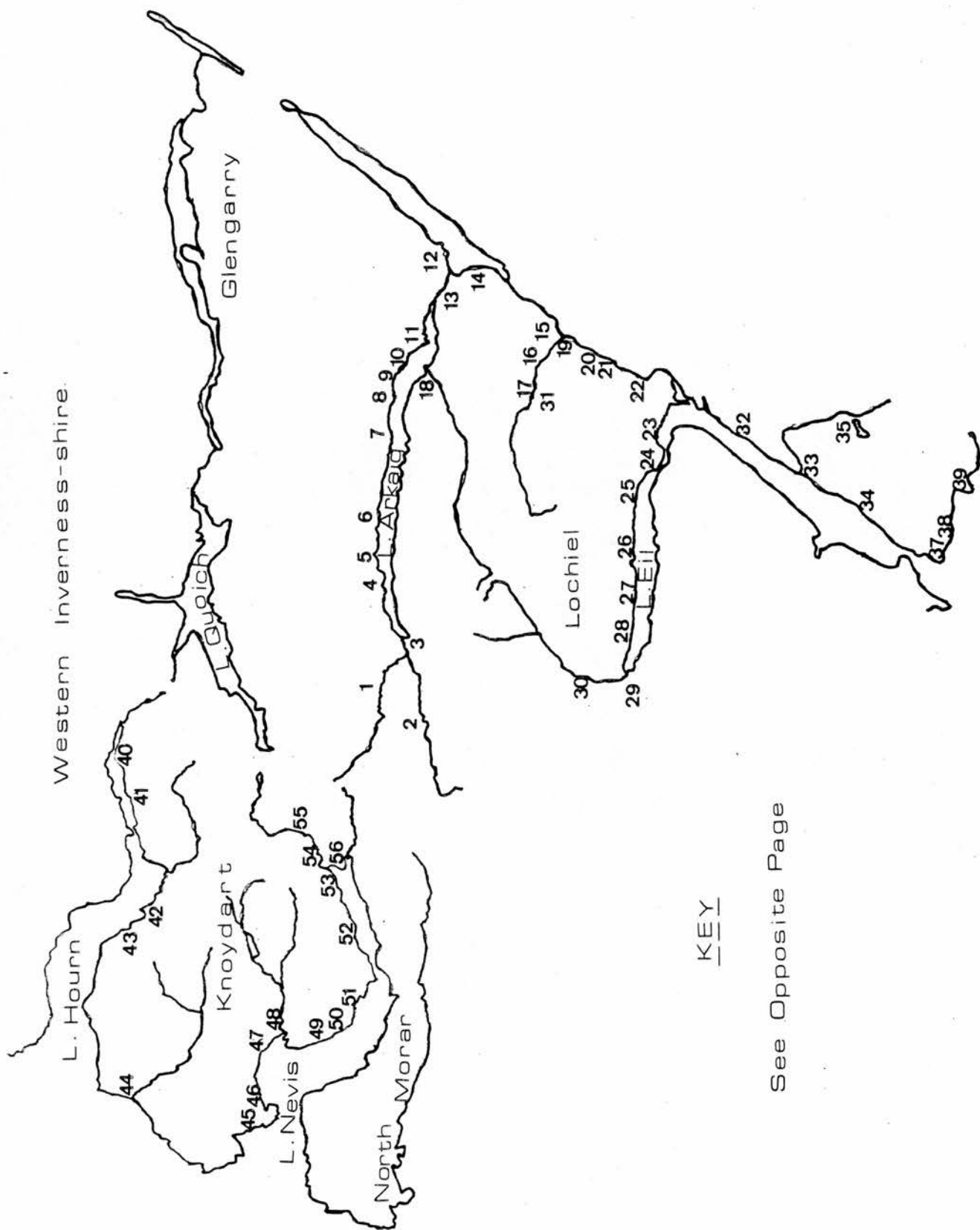
Like the rest of Knoydart, Barisdale seemed to have existed up to this time completely out of the reach of the authorities that governed southern British society. Coll Macdonell's successful career in the 1730s selling protection from cattle rustling, and his son Archibald's avoidance of capture for six years after the Rebellion underlined the total failure of the British government to extend the normal rule of law into this area. Aside from one Justice of the Peace resident at Glenelg some twenty-four miles away, the nearest magistrate was at Fort William, more than forty miles from any part of the Barisdale estate. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the inhabitants submitted their disputes to the arbitration of the clergy, but here also the people of Barisdale were subject to an authority not recognized in the southern kingdoms. Unlike most other parts of Scotland, the Presbyterian church here had no authority since the people of Knoydart were all Roman Catholics. They were ministered to by two priests, Alexander Macdonell and Angus McLauchlan, worshipping openly at Doctor McDonnell's home on the Loch Nevis coast. The factor reported that the priests had "...the impudence to carry their influence so far as

to inflict corporal punishment upon offenders, which indeed is partly encouraged by reason that there is no Sheriff-Substitute...in the whole country."⁹

The institutions of education and the areas of learning that enriched lowland Scottish life in the eighteenth century had not penetrated Knoydart. Only three people on the Barisdale estate could read or write, and only four or five could speak English, since there were no schools in any part of Knoydart. Aristocratic Gaelic learning and education had disappeared by this time, while the gentry, whose support for such learning was essential, had been successfully weaned from their leadership of Gaelic culture. Nonetheless, Gaelic popular culture flourished in the eighteenth century and the inhabitants of Barisdale, like other Highlanders, maintained a vital oral tradition of music, song and story.

Until mid-eighteenth century the people of Barisdale did not acknowledge the authority of British justice nor did they necessarily share certain of its basic assumptions. Thus, although southern officials often described the people's behaviour as lawless, the validity of that judgment can be questioned. Even Mungo Campbell pointed out that the Barisdale residents were "the most honest commonality upon the west coast." No thefts took place among the inhabitants since a people who lived on so close a margin of subsistence could not have tolerated pilfering among themselves. On the other hand, the Barisdale people had a different attitude towards cattle rustling and Campbell suspected that they gave refuge to some "notorious" McMillans and McPhees from a neighbouring part of the Lochiel estate. A similar disregard for southern law had been

9 Reports of the Annexed Estates, 49, 52.



KEY

See Opposite Page

Key to Map of Western Inverness-shire

Lochiel Farms

1. Glendessary
2. Glenpean
3. Kinlocharkaig
4. Murlaggan
5. Callich
6. Coanich
7. Kenmore
8. Muick
9. Callachan
10. Crieff
11. Achnasaul
12. Clunes
13. Achnacary
14. Kiliross
15. Moy
16. Erracht
17. Inveruiskevulen
18. Invermallie
19. Strone

20. Barr
21. Muirsherloch
22. Banavie
23. Corpach
24. Annat
25. Achdalieu
26. Fassifern
27. Corrybeg
28. Kenlochiel
29. Drumnasallie
30. Vachan
31. Stronlha
32. Auchintore
33. Corranan
34. Corryshenrachan
35. Lundavra
36. Culchena
37. Onich
38. Ballachulish

Barisdale Farms

40. Skiary
41. Coaliskeg
42. Muniall
43. Lee
44. Invergusran
45. Riddarroch
46. Glaschoille
47. Inveruie
48. Miolary
49. Groab
50. Riguel
51. Brunsraig
52. Sillachry
53. Torcruin
54. Carnochs
55. Achagline
56. Sorious

shown in 1748 when the Macdonell gentlemen led the Barisdale tenants to conceal part of the total rent customarily paid to Barisdale from the Forfeited Estates surveyor, David Bruce. Instead the gentlemen collected this part of the rent and paid it to their chief, Glengarry.¹⁰ As late as 1755, then, the people of Barisdale were not always governed by southern law.

(iii)

The rugged physical geography of Knoydart set certain limits on land use and settlement in the peninsula. The demographic layout of the Barisdale estate reflected such physical limitations as well as traditional Gaelic social values. Together these two factors produced the traditional agricultural community that lay before the officers of the Annexed Estates when they first surveyed the property in 1755. The estate consisted of sixteen farms with a total area of over 13,000 acres. The location of the farm houses and the tiny plots of arable land strung out along the coastline were the result of geographic limitations. The large average acreage per farm, over 700, was the result both of the social preference for joint farming and an intimate community life, and of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient grazing in a mountainous region.¹¹

Four of the Barisdale estate farms, Skiary, Caolisbeag, Muniall and Lee were located on the southern shore of Loch Hourn. They reached from the eastern limits of the estate near Kinlochhourn ten miles west to the point Rubha Ruadh, excluding Barisdale, which was, confusingly, a part of the Glengarry estate. Inverguseran was

10 Reports of the Annexed Estates, 50. The Macdonell gentlemen resident in Knoydart included Scotus and Barisdale, cousins of Glengarry, James McDonell, brother to Glengarry, and Doctor John McDonell, uncle to the same.

11 Statistics of the Annexed Estates, 1755-56, 4-5.

isolated from the other annexed farms since it was situated on the west coast of Knoydart facing Skye. Eleven of the remaining farms on the estate lay along the northern coast of Loch Nevis from Riddarroch at the modern Torr Mor to Sorious at the head of the loch. On the Loch Nevis shore, only the farms of Scotus, Sandaig, Kilchoan and Kylesknoydart were not part of the Barisdale estate. Three other farms were found inland on river valleys, Miolary on the Inverie river and Gorten and Achagline on the Carnoch river. The Barisdale farms were not single entities neatly divided from one another. Much of the grazing land was quite dispersed from the centres of permanent settlement; hill pasture belonging to one farm might be nearer to another, while a few farms had no hill grazing at all. Such erratic land distribution had been created over centuries by a combination of economic, political and geographic pressures. The estate of Barisdale had gone to a younger son of Glengarry at the beginning of the eighteenth century so it is perhaps not surprising that the Barisdale farms were considered somewhat inferior to the Glengarry farms in Knoydart.¹²

A picture of traditional agriculture as it existed in Barisdale in 1755 emerges from the Statistics collected by Mungo Campbell and presented in Table 1. The most striking characteristic of Barisdale agriculture is the evident paucity of arable and pasture land. No single tenant had more than four acres arable or six acres good pasture, and the average holdings were 1.4 and 2.2 acres respectively. Few tenants could supply their families with grain year round and livestock would have to get through the winter on what grazing they could find on the hills since no grass was saved for winter fodder.

12 SRO E741/46, Report of the Contents, Measures, & Estimate Rents of Barisdale, William Morrison, 1771.

Table 1 Estate of Barisdale 1755¹LAND²

Name of Farm	No. of Tenants	Arable	Good Pasture	Hill ³ & Moss	Cattle	Sheep	Horses	Goats
Skiary	1	2	4	557	10	20	5	20
Coalisbeg	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	2	870	8	10	3	9
Muniall & Camusdoun	2	2	4	484	39	30	11	30
Lee	4	4	12	534	39	42	9	50
Invergusran & Glengusran	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	4	76	35	12	6	12
Riddarroch	3	2	16	793	27	39	4	8
Glaschyle	1	4	4	1151	20	25	5	25
Inveruie & Miolary	7	10	10	582 575	109	70	17	62
Groab	2	2	4	300	13	25	1	21
Riquel	2	2	4	468	12	16	0	23
Brunsaig	1	3	4	565	50	20	3	20
Sillachry	3	3	3	810	32	30	0	35
Torcruin	1	2	1	460	12	20	1	15
Culnacarnoch & Carnochroy	2 1	$4\frac{1}{2}$ 3	3 1	2200	42 23	35 20	4 3	45 20
Achagleen & Gorsteen	2 2	3 2	2 2	1769	35 33	33 30	4 4	40 45
Sorious	2	2	4	1027	12	10	4	10

1 Statistics of the Annexed Estates 1755-6, 4-5.2 The category of good pasture was described in the Statistics as no. of acres in hay, but since Campbell had stated in another report of the same date (Reports on Annexed Estates, 50) that no hay was grown on the estate, natural good pastures must be intended.

3 The hill and moss land acreages given in this column are taken from SRO RHP112 Plan of the Annexed Estate of Barisdale, Wm. Morison, 1771, Copy made 19 June 1805.

It was not made clear in the Statistics whether the stock listed therein belonged exclusively to the tenants or if it represented the soum per farm and included animals owned by farm servants or cottars who were given free grazing rights as part of their wages.¹³ There was a total of 551 black cattle in the table, with holdings varying from six to fifty per tenant. The 487 sheep listed were of the small native breed kept only for family use, with an average of ten or fifteen per family. There was some variation in the number of goats kept: out of a total of 490, the minimum was three and the maximum twenty-five. Finally there were eighty-four horses on the Barisdale estate, an average of two per tenant.

The black cattle were the most important of all the livestock kept in Barisdale as in most other parts of the Highlands. From the yearly sale of a few cattle, the tenant received his only cash income; much of this income was in turn used to pay the rent. In addition, the milk, butter and cheese provided by the cow formed an important part of the everyday diet. The large number of sheep and goats also found on the estate was an indication of their importance in the traditional economy. Sheep provided wool for clothing and goats were an additional source of milk and cheese; together they furnished most of the little meat consumed by the tenants. Horses were used primarily as pack animals and carried peat, fertilizer and other loads. Both the quality and the amount of land, and the number and types of livestock varied from farm to farm in Barisdale. But these differences were really only a question of degree: none of the tenants were wealthy men.

13 The soum was the number of stock any particular farm was considered capable of supporting; the number was expressed in cattle and other livestock were rated proportionally.

The mountainous character of Knoydart makes the peninsula valuable chiefly for grazing. The main product of the estate, black cattle, had a market value of £2 at three years of age. In addition the tenants sowed a little grey oats and barley, and raised considerable amounts of potatoes. Campbell reported that each boll of oats and barley sowed yielded six bolls at harvest; this was double the yield common in other parts of the Highlands and might possibly be attributed to the use of seaweed and seashell as fertilizer. Aside from these cereal crops, no gardens were planted and even green kale and cabbage were unknown. There were no enclosed fields on the estate and the boundaries of farms were unfenced as they had long been established by custom.¹⁴

In summer and early fall the tenants took their cattle to the better grazing of the hill tops; any milk not consumed there was made into butter and cheese. Surplus dairy products were exported to Skye in exchange for oatmeal; the only other export produced in the area was black cattle. There had never been a mill on the estate, so when the tenants had harvested their crops, they:

...set fire to the sheaves until the stalk and the grain are separated and then they gather what of the grain remains unburnt, which they grind with a hand instrument made for that purpose called a quearn, which produces a sort of coarse meal, very bad in appearance, but which the natives reckon better than any other.¹⁵

In winter the people cared for their cattle and prepared the ground with a spade for the next year's crop; except at Inveruie, neither ploughs nor horses could be used on the small stony plots of arable land. A little fishing in the autumn supplied herring and other

14 Reports on the Annexed Estates, 50.

15 Reports on the Annexed Estates, 51.

fish for eating six months of the year. Still the cattle herding and agriculture practised by the people of Barisdale left long periods of time when there was little to do. There was no spare grain left for distilling and hence no stills on the peninsula, but whisky was imported from Ferintosh, near Inverness to whisky houses at Inverie and Sorious. Whisky was "drunk in great abundance by the inhabitants" of Barisdale and Campbell believed it to be the chief cause of their poverty.

The traditional agriculture of Barisdale may seem unsophisticated and some of its practices quite archaic, but it actually represented a balanced use of the available resources. Archibald Menzies, the General Inspector of the Annexed Estates made this point when he toured the west coast of Scotland. Menzies noted with approval the manner in which the Barisdale tenants managed their cattle, commenting that the Barisdale cattle were "of a quality to any of the West Highlands." The tenants moved their cattle regularly from one pasture to another, ensuring that all their stock had the appropriate grazing: milk cows were first, store and yeld cattle next, and horses and sheep last in grazing over any particularly good field. Menzies, the agent of an improving landlord, was quite impressed by the tenants:

It is remarkable the skill they show in chusing their pasturages for the different seasons. It is not the local situation but the quality of the grasses they study. Every farmer is so far a botanist as to distinguish the particular season each grass is in perfection. I have seen some of their wintering ground very high and exposed and at a very great distance from the sea, when at the same time they had grassing close by the sea and where no snow lay in winter. Yet the quality of the grass as winter grass determined them to chuse the high, stormy country.¹⁶

16 Reports of the Annexed Estates, 100.

The people of Barisdale were also experts in the breeding of cattle and in the treatment of animal disease. Since the rugged terrain and poor soil of the area did not allow for the development of arable farming, Menzies regarded the rearing of cattle as the prime agricultural activity and he was reasonably satisfied with the manner in which the Barisdale tenants carried it on. For all their isolation and unsophisticated farming techniques, these people were to one eighteenth century observer able and conscientious farmers.

(iv)

Mungo Campbell resigned as Factor in 1759, when the task of establishing government control in Barisdale and obtaining information about the estate was complete. Henry Butter, factor from 1759 until 1784 when the estate was returned to its previous owner, worked enthusiastically to carry out the Annexed Estates' program of "civilizing" the Highlands. Butter had little empathy for either the gentlemen or the other inhabitants of Barisdale. He frequently referred to the "Most Despotic Government of Barisdale" and described the people as "McDonalds formerly Dependent upon the Glengarry Family and all of them papists and too much under the Slavish Guidance of their priests."¹⁷ Yet Butter soon claimed that the Commissioners' management of the Barisdale estate was beginning to have a good effect on the disposition of the inhabitants. By 1762 the tenants were being taught habits of industry and methods of agricultural improvement so as to "Wean them from the former Dependence upon their Gentlemen and Leaders."

17 SRO E741/38/2, Butter to Board, read 21 Feb 1763.



During the early 1760s Butter encouraged the tenants to build stone houses with interior divisions. He considered this an essential first step since "a person Living in a Miserable hut Without any accomodation can never be Expected to enter with Spirit upon any Improvement."¹⁸ The next step was to build dykes and fences, between the farms so as to prevent the encroachments of cattle from one farm to another, and on low ground to permit the raising of winter fodder. The factor also assessed all farms for the number and type of cattle they could properly support and planned to permit no one to graze more than their soum.¹⁹ Finally in 1767, with the approval of the Barisdale tenants, Henry Butter drew up a plan emphasizing land management. The use of the small amount of arable land was strictly regulated: one-third was to be tilled each year in rotation. Between each crop of oats, a crop of pease or other green vegetable was to be grown, and potatoes were to be planted on uncultivated ground so as to increase the amount of arable land. The soil was to be manured with seaweed or dung depending on the availability of the former or the steepness of the land permitting grazing to produce the latter.²⁰

Butter was sufficiently pleased with the improving spirit shown by the tenants that he refused to support an application from an army officer for a lease of two of the Barisdale farms. In 1769, Lieutenant Robert MacLeod, who had studied farming in England, requested a forty-one year lease of the farms of Lee, Camusdoun and Muniall, which were, he stated, "in a rugged uncultivated State and neither proper Houses nor Inclosures upon them." Butter denied MacLeod's

18 Ibid.

19 SRO E786/37/2, Memorial, Henry Butter, 3 March 1764.

20 SRO E741/43, Plan Settled by Henry Butter, 1767.

claim and listed the many improvements the tenants of the two farms had made. In addition to stone houses on both farms, soil dykes were being built on the boundary between them. The tenants of Muniall and Camusdown had already made walled kail yards and brought shell sand from Glenelg to fertilize their soil. The Commissioners refused MacLeod's request and maintained the "improving" tenants in the possession of their farms.²¹

The Barisdale tenants showed considerable interest in Butter's reforms: they borrowed money from the Commissioners to build fences, promising to repay the loan with interest at 5% after the first three years.²² By 1768 the tenants of Riddarroch, Groab, and Glaschoille, like those of Muniall and Lee, had built stone houses and dykes. While the factor may have exerted some pressure on the tenants, the latter found many of the changes he proposed relatively easy to accept. Improved farming made their farms more productive, but did not threaten their right to a share in a farm. Indeed, one of the benefits of the Annexed Estates' administration was their introduction of leases to Barisdale. In 1776 the tenants of four farms signed 21-year leases as did those of another four farms in 1777; Lieut. Archibald Macdonell and Jean Gordon, widow of Glengarry's brother, both obtained 41 year leases on their farms. Leases offered a security which, after the unrest and annexation of the 1740s and 50s, the Barisdale tenants preferred to cash payments for their improvements.²³

21 For MacLeod's petition, see SRO E741/31/2/1; for Butter's response, see SRO E741/31/2/2; for the Commissioners' refusal, see SRO E721/17, Minutes, 20 Jan 1770.

22 SRO E741/38/2, Butter to Board, 21 Feb 1763.

23 SRO E741/20/7, Rental of Barisdale. Torcruin, Groab, Glaschoille and Riddarroch were leased in 1776, Sallachry, Brunsraig, Riguel and Muniall in 1777. Also Reports of the Annexed Estates, 101.

Agricultural statistics from a survey of the Barisdale estate made by William Morison in 1771 appear in Table 2 on the following page. The differences between Table 1 and Table 2 indicate that agricultural production was increased between 1755 and 1771. In the two tables, ten farms are listed which state the number of both cattle and sheep: they are Muniall, Riddarroch, Glaschoille, Groab, Riguel, Sillachry, Torcruin, Carnochs, Achgline, and Sorious. In 1755 there was a total of 300 cattle on these farms; sixteen years later the total had increased by 31% to 393. The largest percentage increase was in Sorious where the number of cattle rose 150% from twelve to thirty-one. The largest single increase took place on Carnochs where Lieut. Macdonell had forty more cattle than his predecessors. Since the tenants' cash income was derived principally from the sale of cattle, the larger number of cattle raised in 1771 meant a gross increase in the income of the seven farms.

The number of sheep kept rose more dramatically during these years by 64% from 313 to 515. Two farms, however, were responsible for a large part of this increase: Riddarroch had sixty-one more sheep, an increase of 156%, and Carnochs sixty-five more. Only two farms had fewer sheep in 1771 and these had minimal losses of three and ten animals. It is intriguing to speculate on the type of sheep bred in Barisdale in 1771: in his report Morison merely commented that the sheep were small-sized and hardy.²⁴ In contrast, Henry Butter reported to the Commissioners in 1766 that he had:

...made tryal two year ago of the middle
Seized Black faced Sheep from the Neighbour-
hood of Douglas and they have done very well;
and he has reason to think that Rams of that
kind of Sheep would greatly mend the breed

24 SRO E741/46, 2.

Table 2¹

Estate of Barisdale 1771

Name of Farm	Arable	Good Grass	No. of Houses	No. of Servants	Oats/ sown/ reaped	Soum	Cows	Sheep	Goats
Skiary	3	-- ²	--	--	2/6 bolls	16	--	--	--
Coalisbeg	--	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Muniall	7	61	--	4	3/9	30	30	20	--
Lee	3	42	--	6	3/9	40	40	few	few
Invergusran	2	5	16 cr.	--	--	--	--	--	--
Riddarroch	12	1	--	8	6/18	48	48	100	20
Glaschoille	8	6	--	3	5/15	30	30	40	40
Inveruie	8	25	--	--	--	65	--	--	--
Miolary	4	--	--	2	3/10	36	36	40	30
Groab	3	204 ³	2 st.	4	3/8	--	28	30	--
Riguel	3	--	6 cr.	3	2½/7	20	20	30	13
Brunsaig	3	--	11 cr.	6	2/6	45	45	--	--
Sillachry	2	10	1 st. 10 cr.	3	2/5	33	31	40	50
Torcruin	2	--	--	3	9 fir- lot/ 7 bolls	22	20	40	20
Carnochs	8	5	--	11	7/24	111	105	120	80
Achagline	2	--	--	some	2½/7	60	50	60	80
Sorious	5	--	--	3	40 pecks/ 6 bolls	34	31	35	30

1 SRO E741/46; RHP 112. Cr. indicates a creel house; st. a stone house.

2 A dash indicates information not available, in some instances equivalent to zero.

3 This figure is extraordinary in contrast to grass acreages on the other farms.

of the Highland Sheep which are small and
bad wooled,²⁵

It is thus quite possible that the larger herds of sheep on these farms in Barisdale were a cross between the native Highland sheep and the black-faced cheviot. In a preview of the trend in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, the proportion of sheep to cattle began to increase. In 1755 there was virtually the same number of sheep as cattle on the ten farms, 313 to 300, and while five farms had more sheep than cattle, the other five had fewer. But by 1771 there were 515 sheep to 393 cattle, and nine of the ten farms had more sheep than cattle.

Little substantial change was evident in other aspects of Barisdale farming. Only Muniall and Lee significantly increased their grass and good pasture acreage, Muniall from 4 to 61 acres, and Lee from 12 to 42 acres. Muniall, Riddarroch, Glaschoille and Sorious added three to ten acres to their arable land, perhaps the result of the more extensive use of potatoes. The yield of oats shown in 1771 was half that which Mungo Campbell reported but close to the Highland average. The large number of goats indicated in Table 2 is surprising in light of continued requests made by the factor throughout the previous decade that the tenants get rid of these forest-destroying animals. Instead, on the eight farms for which there is comparative data, the number of goats grew from 266 to 333. While the large amount of stock on the Barisdale estate in 1771 may in part be proof of the beneficial effects of improvement, it also suggests that the human population of Barisdale was increasing. The greater number of cattle potentially provided more income with which

25 SRO E741/27/11, Butter to Commissioners, read 24 March 1766.

to buy meal, while larger herds of sheep and goats supplied more food and wool.

Agricultural improvement began a slow, but steady progress in Barisdale during the 1760s and 1770s. The advantages of specific reforms had to be pressed home before they were accepted, and even then not all of the tenants adopted the same improvements at once. Lieut. Archibald Macdonell, who whole-heartedly managed the farm of Carnochs on "improving" principles, was an important example to the other tenants.²⁶ By and large the Annexed Estates Commissioners kept the tenants in possession of their farms throughout this thirty year period. The Commissioners removed tenants who could no longer stock or care for their farms, pay the rent or keep peace with their neighbours, just as Highland landlords had always done.²⁷ But for the most part, between 1755 and 1784, farms remained in the hands of the same tenants or their heirs, a tendency that was reinforced by the giving of leases in the mid-1770s.²⁸ This respect for the tenants' right to land -- one of the basic concepts of Highland society -- was essential to the success which the Commissioners' efforts to introduce improvement met. Feeling relatively secure in the possession of their land, the tenants were able to adopt, at a modest pace, new agricultural ideas.

26 SRO E741/46, Description of the Barisdale farms, 1771, 29-30.

27 SRO E741/43, Plan 1767, 3. Duncan McDonald gave up 1/6 of Inveruie because he had lost most of his stock. E741/31/3/2. 1776-7. Butter recommends that Alex McIntosh be removed from Inveruie because of bad farming. E721/17, Minutes, 26 Feb 1770, Commissioners ordered John Gillis from Sorious unless he pays 2 years arrears. E741/23/11, Butter to Barclay, recommends quarrelling tenants of Lee be separated.

28 See the Rentals, etc. of Barisdale in the SRO: for 1755, E741/20/1; for 1767, E741/43; for 1771, E741/46; for 1774, E741/20/6, and for 1784, E741/20/8.

(v)

Agricultural reform was not the only means by which the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates attempted to "civilize" the Highlands; they also paid considerable attention to the development of basic social institutions and services, and of other natural resources. Since there were no villages of any size in the Highlands in 1745, apart from Inverness, the Commissioners encouraged the growth of small commercial centres as part of a program of increasing manufactures and eliminating Highland "idleness."²⁹ Mungo Campbell suggested Inveruie as the most appropriate site for a village in Barisdale and shortly after the end of the Seven Years War, five disbanded soldiers and sailors were settled there. Each was provided with a house, three acres of land, and a bounty; in return all agreed to become fishermen. A few inhabitants of Barisdale, displaced by agricultural improvements during the 1760s, were given homes as "King's Cottagers" in Inveruie, where they were expected to practice a trade. Plans such as this enjoyed a limited success: one discharged soldier, John Macdonald, who had been given the changehouse at Inveruie, squandered the money needed to equip the house. The changehouse was taken away from him but he still received a house and a few acres in the village. Similarly, just three years after the disbanded soldiers were accommodated in Inveruie, the factor had to write to the Commissioners to ask what should be done with the unused bounty and nets.³⁰

29 A.J. Youngson, After the Forty-Five, 35-6.

30 The disbanded men were all from the West Highlands, including two from Knoydart; see SRO E741/23/8. For displaced tenants, see SRO E741/27/9, March 1765; for failure of John Macdonald, see SRO E741/39; for unused bounty and nets, see SRO E741/23/13.

Fisheries were considered the most likely source of new employment in the Highlands and would at the same time provide inhabitants for the new villages. Henry Butter was very optimistic that the people of the Barisdale estate and neighbouring areas could make a living from the herring fishing in Lochs Hourn and Nevis if given some assistance. The villages where the fishermen lived would in turn increase the value of the farms and provide the tenants with the capital needed to improve them. But with one exception both the inhabitants and the disbanded soldiers and sailors failed to establish a successful fishery at Inveruie. The tenants of Groab, John and Donald McDonald, were the exception: they employed two boats in the herring fishing in Loch Nevis.³¹

The Commissioners and the factor also encouraged the development of Barisdale's other natural resources. The farm of Caolisbeg on the shore of Loch Hourn was assessed capable of growing a fir forest; its tenant was removed to another part of the estate and over 320 acres of trees were planted by 1771.³² Seaware or seaweed was the other natural product of the estate and it existed on all the farms with a shoreline. Thus Miolary, Achagline, Carnochroy and Gorten had none, while Culnacarnoch, Inveruie and Riddarroch did not have enough to meet their requirements for fertilizer. All these farms were permitted to take the seaware needed for that purpose from their neighbours. Once every three years, the remaining, seaweed-producing farms cut the weed that grew on their shores to make kelp. In 1769 the kelp available on Barisdale was advertised for sale, but the only offer made was ten shillings a ton. This "was the Common price paid formerly to the Proprietors for Kelp Shores in that

31 SRO E741/27/11 and E741/46, Description of Barisdale, 1771, 19-20.

32 SRO RHP 112; also E741/46, Caolisbeg, 8-9.

Neighbourhood" and it was made by Archibald MacDonald of Achagline, the ground officer of the estate.³³

The Commissioners were saved the expense of a grist mill at Barisdale when Macdonald of Scotus built one on his estate and permitted the tenants of Barisdale to use it without charge.³⁴ Roads and bridges, however, were built in Barisdale with financial assistance from the Board. As early as October 1761 Henry Butter pointed out that the Inveruie river which divided the estate in two was frequently impassable. He requested £20 from the Board and promised to raise £5 locally to build the necessary bridge; by 1764 the Commissioners had paid a total of £89.4s. for the Inveruie bridge. Road making was a local responsibility but the Commissioners granted £10 for the purchase of tools needed for the job. Even so, the tenants considered road-building a great grievance since they had to travel long distances in order to do the work. These roads and bridges were intended both to save lives previously at risk in travelling and to make more effectual the work of schools and similar establishments. "Opening an easy and constant Communication" would "Greatly facilitate the Civilizing of these Remote and Wild parts of the Highlands, and Improving the same."³⁵ As diligent as Butter was in road and bridge building, Barisdale remained isolated by its terrain: the work of the Annexed Estates' administration was only a preliminary step towards achieving that "constant communication" with the south.

The remoteness of Barisdale had long limited access to an English education since the tenants could not afford the expense of sending

33 SRO E741/23/16, Butter to Barclay, 8 July 1769; E786/37/9, Feb 1771.

34 SRO E741/38/2, Feb 1763.

35 For bridges, see SRO E786/33/1, Report by Henry Butter, and E741/41/2. For roads, see SRO E786/37/2, March 1764; E741/27/11; and E786/33/1.

their children to the distant parish school. In 1760 Butter suggested that there was a need for a school on each of the Annexed Estates, to inculcate the inhabitants with "the Principles of the Protestant Religion, Good Government and Loyalty to his Majesty."³⁶ After some searching Butter found a man whom he believed would be a suitable schoolmaster for Barisdale: James MacPherson had taught school for several years in Rannoch and was considered a man capable of teaching "Papists." On December 9, 1762 the Commissioners appointed MacPherson schoolmaster at Inveruie. MacPherson was provided with a school house and plot of enclosed ground at a cost of £25 and £10 respectively. His salary was to be larger than was commonly paid, £16.13s.4d., because of the isolation of Barisdale and the religion professed by its inhabitants.³⁷

The results achieved by this investment in local education over the twenty years to 1784 were not entirely what the factor and Commissioners had hoped for. In spite of this long instruction by a Protestant schoolmaster, the people remained steadfastly Roman Catholic. Yet equally the Scottish Catholic clergy had abandoned their support of the Jacobite cause by the end of this period and the Catholic religion and opposition to the central government were no longer necessarily associated. Similarly, while Gaelic language and culture continued to predominate in Barisdale, the tenants came to accept formal schooling on the lowland model and themselves attempted to obtain a school for their children. In March 1779, the Commissioners read a petition to which seven tenants of the Barisdale estate on Loch Nevis had fixed their marks. They were Ewen, John,

36 SRO E786/37/1, Memorial from Butter, June 1760.

37 SRO E741/23/3, Butter, 16 Aug 1762; E741/27/6, 7 March 1763; and E786/33/1.

Angus, Donald, and Samuel MacDonald, and Angus Gillis of the farms of Sorious, Sallachry, Torcruin and Brunsraig. They explained:

That the petitioners to the Right Honourable board have a number of young Children fit for being sent to school, That they are unable to procure from their own funds any Master to their Children, That the Schoolmaster...is altogether inaccessible to them on account of the Distance, ...That a much Larger Portion of the Estate of Barasdale Lyes in the Neighbourhood of your petitioners than in the adjacencies of the present Station of the School, That in imitation of the Ambulatory rounds the Schools of the ben[sic] society Make for the Benefit of Children in Different parts, It is the Earnest Request of Your Petitioners that the School be Removed from Inveruie more To Some Convenient place in this Neighbourhood, and your petitioner Shall ever pray....³⁸

Henry Butter supported their petition since the number of scholars at Inveruie had fallen, and he believed that it would be advantageous for every district of the estate to have the benefit of a school. The Commissioners accepted this proposal and the tenants were expected to provide the master with a school house and grass for two cows.³⁹ By 1784 the "illiterate" tenants of Barisdale had come to value a formal education in English and many of their children had received an introduction to one.

(vi)

The legal changes, and social and economic development set in motion after the 1745 uprising began a profound alteration of Highland society which affected both clan-owned and annexed estates. The Commissioners of the Annexed Estates shielded those properties from some of the more exploitative aspects of change and exposed the estates more thoroughly to others. On the Barisdale estate, the

38 SRO E741/31/5.

39 SRO E721/19, Minutes, 8 March 1779.

years of administration by the Commissioners, 1755 to 1784, saw significant steps taken to change that isolated, traditional Gaelic community. The very fact that it was managed for thirty years by a group of men who had no family or traditional ties to the estate must in the long run have fundamentally altered the inhabitants' conception of the relationship between themselves, the land and the landlord. The traditional conception was that the land belonged to all the people, although the chief and his tacksmen may have governed and profited more directly from it. When Barisdale's land was forfeited and then administered by southern officials, the people were made aware, in the most dramatic possible way, that the land might well be taken from them. During the years of annexation the Crown replaced the clan chief or his representative and the relationship between landlord and tenant became essentially commercial in nature. While tending to push the tenants in the direction of improved farming, the Commissioners were generally fair, and in some instances much more generous than neighbouring landlords. This experience of an impersonal, commercial, landlord-tenant relationship was one of the most significant changes that the people of Barisdale experienced during this thirty year period.

The Annexed Estates administration broke one support of traditional society, the power and authority of the clan chief, and a second support, the notion of clan ownership of its own land, was undermined by the annexation. Certainly other men in the community were capable of taking the place of the absent chief. The clergy and the tacksmen could be accepted as replacements since the loss of a leader did not destroy Gaelic society's respect for authority. The effect of southern intervention in Highland life may well have been an increased reliance on the kindred. The extended family had

always been important in Highland life, but with traditional Gaelic society under pressure to conform to southern norms, it was the kin group that could provide cohesion and direction to a beleaguered society.

The purpose of annexation was to "civilize" the Highlands or to make them resemble the modern commercial state in the south. Thirty years was not sufficient time in which to transform so completely a society, but the Commissioners made some progress towards their goal in Barisdale. The conquest of the Highlands and the thorough application of the law there forced the inhabitants of Barisdale to obey the same laws that governed the alien lowlands. Agricultural improvement brought at least partial adoption of southern forms of housing, fencing, and crop management, and the Barisdale tenants were as pleased to accept leases as their southern counterparts. Although the attempt to establish a fishing industry at Inveruie failed, the settlement there did become the area's only village. The Commissioners established the school as a vehicle for cultural and religious change, and while the inhabitants were uninfluenced by Protestant doctrine, they accepted a new educational standard. This acceptance was crucial in the long-term since the bias of the school curriculum was non-traditional, English and commercial.

After 1745, the Barisdale people were taught to look outside the Gaelic community for their government and for standards of living and behaviour. Traditional Highland values conditioned the clansmen's response to the southern beliefs and practices to which they were exposed. As long as the right of the kin to land was recognized, the people of Barisdale were able to make only certain

minimal concessions to the new commercial order. However, were that right denied, much more drastic change would be forced on them.

Chapter 4

Lochiel

(i)

After 1745 the people of Lochiel, like those of Barisdale, were directly exposed to the assimilative pressures of southern British society. At mid-eighteenth century, the Lochiel estate was still organized on traditional lines: a complex, hierarchical, Gaelic community supported itself with an agricultural economy based on cattle. Between 1748 and 1784, the Barons of Exchequer and later the Annexed Estates Commissioners "improved" and "civilized" the Lochiel estate without substantially changing the clansmen's world-view or the basic pattern of daily life. Much of the success that the factor did achieve lay with the gentlemen tenants, who were more easily convinced of the benefits of stone houses, English schooling or commercial agriculture. In general, the people of Lochiel preserved the essential elements of traditional life over this period, while adapting to new social and economic conditions.

The estate of Cameron of Lochiel was one of the major clan holdings in the west Highlands. Like the Barisdale estate, Lochiel was divided into extensive farms used for the raising of cattle, and it supported a large and culturally homogeneous population. But to a greater degree than Barisdale, the Lochiel estate was exposed to southern influences since it was located at the western end of the Great Glen on important trade and communication routes. The Barisdale estate had been only a part of the Macdonell of Glengarry lands, possessed by a single wadsetter who was a cadet member of the family. In contrast the Lochiel estate, which included most of the traditional

Cameron lands, was occupied by the clan chief and a large number of tenants and wadsetters.

The Lochiel estate was part of the civil parish of Kilmallie, which stretched north and west of Fort William: west of the river Lochy, north of Loch Eil to Loch Arkaig. For the most part, the land is covered with high hills and riddled with a series of glens and rivers which provided access through them. Much of the rock in the area between Loch Arkaig and Loch Eil is flaggy psammitic granulites; this type of rock shows little variation in erosion, and gives rise to smooth slopes and ill-defined summits. The hills north of Loch Arkaig are also made of granulites which here form high, but unimpressive grass and peat-covered tops.¹ Land of this nature was ideal for raising live-stock, and enough flat land was found in the river valleys to supply the inhabitants with at least part of their grain supply. Somewhat detached from the rest of the estate was the Mamore part of Lochiel, reaching from Fort William to Ballachulish and from Loch Linnhe to the height of land on the western side of Glen Nevis. This area forms the western flank of the Mamore mountain range but it provided the only two corn farms on the estate as well as several cattle farms.

The population of the Lochiel estate cannot be determined precisely since statistics are available only for the parish of which the estate was a part. The Lochiel property was the largest single estate in the parish of Kilmallie. The other major landowners were the Duke of Gordon, whose property included Fort William and the south shore of the river Lochy, and McLean of Ardgour, whose estate

1 Johnstone, Western Highlands, 50, 59-60.

lay south of Loch Eil.² At mid-eighteenth century the population of Kilmallie was estimated at 3,093 people; by 1793 the number had increased to 4,225 souls, and by 1801 the first British census set the population at 4,600.³ This last figure represents a minimal estimate of the actual Kilmallie population in 1801 since the census did not include the considerable number of local men serving in regular or fencible regiments, or those men and women temporarily employed outside the parish. An analysis of the 1801 census by district reveals that some 2,300 people or half the parish population lived on the Lochiel estate then.⁴ No major reorganization of the Lochiel estate occurred before 1801, so its population was basically undisturbed in the last half of the eighteenth century. Other parts of Kilmallie had been stocked with sheep by 1793, but their inhabitants were reportedly still in the parish, presumably in the town or in crofting areas. It seems likely therefore that roughly the same proportion of the parish population was resident in Lochiel in 1755 as was there in 1801. There were perhaps 1500 people in Lochiel in 1755, or 260 families.

The people who lived in Lochiel in the mid-eighteenth century formed a close-knit, hierarchical community. Unlike Barisdale, which was a small estate with no gentlemen among its tenants, Lochiel was inhabited by men from every social and economic level of traditional society. Like Barisdale, the population of Lochiel included tenants, sub-tenants, and cottars; however, Barisdale seemed to lack the very

2 O.S.A., vol. 8, Kilmallie (1793), 432.

3 For mid-18th century, see James Kyd, Scottish Population Statistics, (Edinburgh, 1952), 59. For 1793, see O.S.A., vol. 8, Kilmallie (1793), 434. For 1801 census, see Register House, Parochial Register, Kilmallie, 520/1.

4 The Lochiel estate included the following census districts: Mamore, Lochielside, Strath Lochy, Loch Arkaig and Fassifern.

poor mentioned on several Lochiel farms as well as the bigger tenants and wadsetters who were so prominent in Lochaber. In 1748, 25% of the 260-odd families in Lochiel were wadsetters and tenants, while the remaining three-quarters of the population were sub-tenants, cottars and servants.⁵

The thirteen men who had acquired their farms through wadsetts were next to the chief at the top of the social and economic pyramid of local society. These men had lent Lochiel a total of £2355 sterling; their loans ranged from £55 for the use of a farm the size of Inveruiskevulen, Lundavra or Stronlia, to £556 for Fassifern.⁶ The wadsetters collected the annual rent of their farms, keeping a part in proportion to the value of their wadsett for their own use, and paying the balance of the rent to the chief. For the support of their families, they thus had not only the produce of the farm after the rent had been paid, but also a cash income derived from a share in that rent.

The considerable wealth of the thirteen wadsetters was evident in the claim submitted by the tenants of Lochiel's estate for damages suffered in 1746-47 from the looting of the Hanoverian army. Rich and poor alike, 163 people experienced the destruction of stock, crops, furniture and houses for a total loss of £7,204.⁷ But the

5 SRO E768/1, Abstract Rental, 1748/9; E768/7/1, Valuation of Lochiel 1762, 62-5; RH2/8/26, Survey of Lochiel, Wm. Morrison, 1772, Clunes, 35-6; and Invermallie, 44-6.

6 SRO E768/1, Abstract Rental, 1748/9. The wadsetters were Dougal Cameron, Inveruiskevulen; Alex Cameron, Muirsherloch; Evan Cameron, Drumnasallie; Alex Cameron, Stronlia; John Cameron, Fassifern; Donald Cameron, Clunes; Alex McPhee, Glendessary; Donald Cameron, Crieff; Donald Cameron, Glenpeanbeg & Lagganfern; Ewen Cameron, Erracht; Alex McLachlan, Cornranan; Allan Cameron, Lundavra; John Cameron, Culchenna.

7 SRO E768/41/1-43. It is not clear if these claims were expressed in £ sterling or Scots.

ten wadsetters who submitted claims estimated their losses at £2,092: that is 6% of those who reported losses accounted for 29% of the total value of the claim. The wadsetters' large share of material wealth contributed to their position of economic influence in the community. At times the sub-tenants might attempt to limit the wadsetters' economic power. In 1762 Duncan Cameron, a tenant in Erracht, complained that the wadsetter of Erracht "harass all his Tenants in many instances" and charged half again as much as was common for the conversion of casualties into money rent.⁸ Duncan Cameron clearly expected the landlord, whether clan chief or Forfeited Estates Board, to intervene and rectify the situation. But the tone of his complaint suggests that this type of behaviour was not usual and that the wadsetters did not frequently abuse their economic power.

The tenants who possessed the other twenty-three Lochiel farms formed the next major social grouping on the estate. These men and women all held their land directly from the landlord and were people of some consequence in the community. There were differences, however, in the size and nature of the farms they rented, and these reflected a considerable distinction among them of social and economic status. Eleven farms were rented by a single tenant.⁹ These tenants varied in importance from such men as John McLachlan who rented Achintore for £33 (an exceptionally large sum) and John Cameron of Fassifern, a wadsetter who also rented Kilmallie and Achnacarry for £10, to a man like Evan McPhee who rented Kenmore for £2.18s.

8 SRO E768/7/1, 66-75.

9 These farms were Corryshenrachan, Achintore, Kilmallie/Achnacarry, Kenmore, Murlaggan, Invermallie, Kiliross, Barr, Strone, Achdaliu, and Corrybeg.

The remaining ten farms of the estate were all shared by a number of tenants. This number ranged from the two John McPhees who held Muck for £5.16s.1d. to the twelve men and women who possessed Moy for £4.17s.9d. While all the tenants of the estate would have enjoyed a position of some social importance as a result of their land holding, it is clear that those whose rent was much less than £2 per annum had languished at an economic level not much better than that of a sub-tenant. This is evident in William Morison's comment on the tenants of Moy, who were "supported much by working as day labourers to others, and at any publick work carrying on upon the estate."¹⁰ On the other hand, the more prosperous tenants probably began to rival the wadsetters in economic and social influence. The tenants did not form a single economic group, but their position as tenants gave them a distinct status in the Lochiel community.

Both the 1762 Valuation and the 1772 Survey of Lochiel mention the presence of sub-tenants and cottars as well as tenants and wadsetters on the estate, and the poverty of the former group is frequently noted. In his testimony at the valuation of Lochiel in 1762, Donald Cameron, wadsetter of Clunes, stated that his land was subsett to as many "poor sub-tenants" as could be accommodated and that the rents "are set as high as they can bear."¹¹ Ten years later, Morison also noted the large number of sub-tenants or cottars at Clunes, adding that "they are miserably poor and almost starving." The sub-tenants of other farms were mentioned as well: in Glenpeanmore, the sub-tenants had planted potatoes in rough ground to extend

10 Tenants paying less than £2 were six of the eight tenants of Annat, three from Banavie, and three from Inverarkaig, twelve from Moy and four from both Onich and Ballachulish. SRO RH2/8/26, 151-3.

11 SRO E768/7/1, Valuation, 1762, 62-5.

the arable, while in Erracht they lived permanently on two of the sheilings. The inhabitants of the settlement and of the sheiling of Ardnosh in Invermallie were "poor people"; the farm of Fassifern included "insignificant spots of Corn land possessed by Crofters and croppd with oats."¹²

A majority of the Lochiel inhabitants were sub-tenants, cottars and servants who did not pay rent directly to the landlord. Much of the non-tenant population must have lived on those farms held by one or two tenants; the small multiple-tenant holdings of Moy or Annat obviously could not support the same number of sub-tenants as could Strone or Murlaggan. The distinctions made among the non-tenant population, sub-tenant, cottar, crofter or servant, indicate that the group was one of considerable size and social complexity. This bottom level of estate society was dependent on other members of the community for a share in the land. Nonetheless, wadsetters, tenants and all the others were mutually dependent for their livelihood from the land and for the preservation of a common culture.

(ii)

The pattern of settlement across the Lochiel estate in the eighteenth century revealed the same blend of geographic and cultural accommodation that was noted in Barisdale. The range of human settlement was the product first of the rough, heather-covered hills north and south of Loch Arkaig, and then of the communal nature of traditional life. The survey of the estate made in 1772 reveals a pattern of small, local concentrations of people, which was still evident in road survey maps at the end of the century. Houses were

12 SRO RH2/8/26, Survey, 1772, 35-6, 37-8, 44-6, 56-60, 82-4.

not evenly scattered about the various farms, but rather clustered in one, or in the case of larger farms, in two or three locations. Thus the ten farm buildings in Moy were located five on either side of the Alt Coire Chraoibhe. Similarly in Glendessary thirty-nine buildings stood within a single mile on four sites.¹³ Not only was settlement on a farm limited to one part of the farm, but farm houses of neighbouring farms also tended to be closer to each other than to the furthest reaches of their own land. This was especially true of the Mamore farms where arable land was completely discontinuous from the sheilings, but only a few miles from the nearest neighbour.

In 1772 there were thirty-eight farms on the Lochiel estate and this number varied only slightly during the years of forfeiture and annexation as farms were joined or divided so as to accommodate the tenants. The most westerly farm on the estate was Glendessary which met Morar and Knoydart on the height of land that formed the parish boundary. The farm was located in the valley of the river Dessary at the head of Loch Arkaig and was sub-divided into three holdings: Shanaval, Coule and Glackfern.¹⁴ A few miles to the south was Glenpean, a steep-sided and very narrow valley, which was the site of two farms, Glenpeanmore, and Glenpeanbeg with Lagganfern. The farm houses of Kinlocharkaig were on the eastern bank of the Dearg Allt, and at the present Strathan at the junction of the Dessary and Pean rivers.

The north shore of Loch Arkaig was heavily settled with eight farms lying along its bank and reaching north to the parish boundary and Glengarry's property. In contrast only one farm was found on

13 SRO RHP 11608; RHP 3434-76.

14 SRO RH2/8/26, 15-7. RHP 11608, Plan of road from Loch Nevish Head to Loch Lochy, surveyed in 1796 by George Brown.

the south shore: this was Invermallie, whose inhabitants lived at the mouth of the river Mallie. The farm property included the field north of the river called Mellart and the sheiling of Ardnosh on the shore of the loch several miles to the west. The farms of Murlaggan, Callich, Coanich, Kenmore, Muck, and Achnasaul stretched from west to east on the north bank of Loch Arkaig.¹⁵ Each of these farms extended northward from the loch, with farm houses and offices located in small villages on rivers of the same name near the loch. The farms of Sallachan and Crieff which are listed, seemingly in geographic order, between Muick and Achnasaul were in the same general area, probably near Beinn Chraoibh.¹⁶

The next group of farms centered around the mouth of the River Arkaig and the northern bank of the river and Loch Lochy. Achnacarry, the traditional home of the Cameron chief, was situated on the south bank of the swift-flowing river Arkaig. To the north, near the mouth of the Allt Bhan was the farm of Clunes which stretched along the shore of Loch Lochy to the parish boundary. On the eastern end of Loch Lochy lay the farms of Kiliross and Easter and Wester Moy. Below them in Glen Loy were the farms of Erracht, Inveruiskevulen and Achnallen. Erracht was a large farm with five sheilings in Glenmallie: Leacht, Straden, Innisdarroch, Riemore, and Rinafia.¹⁷ Barr and Muirsherloch were located in the Great Glen north of the River Lochy and below the entrance to Glen Loy. Finally, on the western end of the River Lochy was the farm of Banavie.

15 SRO RHP11608; RH2/8/26, 44-6.

16 SRO RH2/8/26, 26-34.

17 SRO RH2/8/26, 56-60. Straden and Innisdarroch were permanently inhabited; they are probably the houses noted by Brown on either side of the river Mallie at the Alt a' Cham Dhoire, RHP11608.

Seven farms lay west of Fort William, reaching north to Druim Fada and the headwaters of Loch Arkaig. Corpach was located at the head of Loch Linnhe, while Annat was a few miles west opposite the narrows where Loch Linnhe and Loch Eil meet. Proceeding west there were four farms along the north shore of Loch Eil, Achdalieu, Fassifern, Corrybeg, and Kinlochiel. Vachan, a sheiling of Fassifern, was located some distance to the north in Gleann Fionnlighe. Drimnasallie formed the western boundary of the estate along the river Dubh Lighe. Detached from the other farms in this area was Stronlia, located away from the Loch and north of Gleann Fionnlighe.¹⁸

There were seven farms in the Mamore part of the Lochiel estate, reaching from Fort William to Ballachulish and for the most part lying along the shore of Loch Linnhe. The first of these, Achintore, was situated just south of Fort William and is now a suburb of the town. The farm of Coruanan was located south of the River Kiachnish near its mouth, but its sheiling, Glashvane, was sixteen miles away to the east on the slopes of Glas Bheinn. Corryshenrachan was two miles south of Coruanan, below Beinn Bhàn and Beinn na Gucaig. Up the river Kiachnish was the farm of Lundavra; its sheiling, Corrybreckmore, was twenty miles away in Rannoch Moor.¹⁹ Culchenna farm was situated at the point of land where Loch Linnhe and Loch Leven meet; it had three sheilings of various sizes, including Lubelt on the Amhainn Rath east of Glen Nevis, and Lecknacairn, north of the modern Blackwater Reservoir. Onich and Ballachulsih, west of the mouth of Loch Leven, marked the southern limits of the Lochiel estate.

18 SRO RHP11606; RH2/8/26.

19 SRO RH2/8/26.

During the years of forfeiture and annexation, the traditional organization of Lochiel farms was maintained and small communities of men continued to occupy each farm. A public valuation of the estate dated January 1762 gives detailed information concerning agricultural production; the tenants' dependence on cattle can be clearly seen as well as the minimal nature of the oat crop produced on the estate. A very similar picture emerges from the survey done by William Morison in 1772.²⁰ No comparison of agriculture on the estate between these two dates is possible with the exception of grain yields, since the studies describe different aspects of traditional farming in Lochiel. Nonetheless, the survey and the Valuation together provide a thorough overview of agriculture organization in Lochiel during the transitional years following 1745. This information is summarized in Tables 3 and 4.

The Lochiel estate was a large property totalling over 107,500 acres. Three thousand acres was the average size of the thirty-eight farms on the estate, considerably more than the eight hundred acres common in Barisdale. The arable land on each farm averaged well over ten acres, as seen in Table 3, but most families still purchased meal for six or occasionally nine months of the year.²¹ The pressure of a large and expanding population clearly tended to overburden the rather small amount of arable land; the land's low yield, shown in Table 3 in the amount of oats sowed and meal reaped, underlines the precarious nature of traditional Highland agriculture. Only half of the twenty-four farms that planted oats managed to double the amount of seed sown; remarkably Easter and Wester Moy,

20 SRO E768/7/1, Valuation; RH2/8/26, Survey.

21 For size of estate, see SRO E768/56/4; for purchase of meal, see SRO RH2/8/26.

Table 3

Lochiel Estate 1772¹

Name of farm	Acreage			Wood	Sheiling	Oats	Sown/	Soum
	Arable	Grass	Hill			Meal	Reaped	
Glendessary	12 ²	317	7103	0	0	10 bolls/ 40 bolls		192
Murlaggan	4	8	2779	0	0	4/15		86
Callich	4	4	1886	0	0	4/10		38
Coanich	3	2	2838	0	0	3/8		56
Kenmore	4	12	4138	121	0	4/8		28
Muick	4	20	4187	0	0	4/8		58
Sallachan	4	16	2270	0	0	4/8		49
Crieff	4	13	1276	0	0	4/8		42
Achnasaul	16	31	5423	137	0	--		92
Clunes	26	33	3673	490	0	24/50		172
Glenpeanmore	5	264	3498	0	0	6/20		100
Glenpeanbeg	10	326	2728	0	0	8/20		136
Kinlocharkaig	3	17	716	92	0	3/12		48
Invermallie	8	32	5556	1246	0	--		84
Achnacarry	0	10	985	350	0	(included in Corpach)		
Killiross	4	3	638	69	0	--		38
Easter Moy	18	82	603	86	0	20/32		64
Wester Moy	18	60	948	135	0	20/32		64
Eracht	34	242	3815	79	0	35/72		244
Inveruiskevulen	12	41	2120	147	0	--		92

1 SRO RH2/8/26, p. 15-113.

2 Morison reported the acreage in acres, rods and feet, but for this table they have been rounded off to the acre.

Table 3 (con'd) Lochiel Estate 1772

Name of farm	Acreage			Wood	Sheiling	Oats Meal	Sown/ Reaped	Soum
	Arable	Grass	Hill					
Strone & Achnacarry	19	109	3126	114	0	--		120
Barr	14	78	1923	36	0	15/30		102
Muirsherluch	11	36	780	0	0	12/24		82
Banavy	14	9	1121	0	0	15/22		66
Corpach (including Achnacarry & Monychuich)	23	50	8700	436	0	24/36		134
Annat	27	6	1868	64	0	28/50		92
Achdaliue	10	30	1589	60	0	10/20		60
Fassifern	24	40	3678	310	0	25/50		198
Corrybeg	5	0	1285	0	0	6/10		52
Kinlochiel	12	37	3059	307	0	12/23		--
Drimnasally	--	--	--	--	--	--		152
Vachan (part of Fassifern)	2	5	2688	152	0	--		--
Stronlia	4	3	2591	26	0	4/8		72
Auchintore	20	129	651	0	195	--		96
Cor Uanan	28	182	1680	0	1078	--		152
Corryshenrachan	9	80	734	16	0	--		48
Lundavra	7	52	553	0	723	--		52
Culchenna	22	138	1584	15	1200	--		150
Onich	32	26	520	21	1281	--		76
Ballachulish	34	48	616	1	708	--		88

Banavie, Corpach, and Corrybeg were not able to achieve even that modest increase. On the other hand, Glendessary and Locharkaig were exceptional in having a fourfold increase.

Most of the Lochiel estate was used for the production of cattle and wood. The 4,600 acres of woodland largely predated the forfeiture of the estate, although the Forfeit Estates' factor also planted and harvested this scarce Highland resource. Cattle breeding was, however, the primary use made of the land, and for that purpose the 2,591 acres of hay or good grass found on the estate were extremely important in carrying the cattle through the winter. It is clear from the widely diverging figures that no standard amount of hill land was assigned to each farm; while Kiliross had a bare 689 acres of hill land, Corpach had 8,700 acres. The quality of the hill land in Lochiel differed from farm to farm since there was no constant relationship between hill acreage and soum. Thus 148 acres were needed in Kenmore for one soum, while in Banavie the same soum was supported by a mere 17 acres. While most of the larger farms possessed sheiling land, only in the case of the Mamore farms where the sheiling was at a great distance from the farm settlement was the acreage listed separately. The use of land revealed in these figures suggests that in 1772 farm organization and production in Lochiel had not been drastically altered by improvement.

The need for agricultural improvement in Lochiel can be seen from a comparison of the 1762 and the 1772 harvests; the production of oats changed very little during that ten year period. In 1762, 365 bolls of oats yielded 696 bolls of meall, while in 1772 304 bolls of oats gave 616 bolls of meall. The slightly better yield in the later year, 2.02 rather than 1.96, may have been the result of improved farming techniques, but the effect was hardly impressive.

The livestock carried on the Lochiel estate in 1762 is described in Table 4. Thirty-five farms supported a total of 2,353 great cows, 574 two years olds, and 550 stirks or one-year-olds. The same proportion of 4:1:1 between great cows, two and one year olds appears on most farms. Since Highland cows calved only every two years, it would seem that half the great cows were breeding stock and the other half were raised for sale or future breeding. The 2,400 sheep kept on the estate virtually equalled the number of great cows; twenty-eight farms stocked precisely the same number of each. The traditional balance between sheep and cattle in Highland agriculture was maintained in Lochiel.

Goats, however, actually outnumbered either sheep or great cows since a total of 3,194 were found on the estate. Sixteen farms actually had twice as many goats as sheep. The stocking of so many goats was likely the result of both geographic and human pressures. The sixteen farms were located chiefly inland and in the steeper, more mountainous part of the estate. A look at the Ordnance Survey map clearly reveals how appropriate the terrain was for goats in Glenpean or north of Achnasaul and Clunes where the contours are particularly steep. On the other hand, the existence of a large number of subtenants and cottars dependent on these animals for food may well have been the reason for such disproportionate stocking of goats. In comparison only a small number of horses were raised on the estate: 232 mares and 167 horses were bred for sale as well as for local use. The balance between sheep and cattle, and the large number of goats kept indicates the survival of a significant part of traditional Highland agriculture in Lochiel during the early years of forfeiture.

Table 4 Lochiel Estate 1762¹

Name of farm	Great Cows	2 Yr. Olds	Stirks	Mares/ Horses	Sheep	Goats	Oats Meal	Sown/ Reaped
Glendessary	160	40	40	12/4	160	220	10/40	
Murlaggan	70	18	18	6/2	70	120	3/15	
Callich	30	8	8	2/2	30	60	4/8	
Coanich	44	12	12	6/0	44	88	3/8	
Kenmore	20	5	5	4/0	20	40	4/8	
Muick	50	13	13	12/2	50	100	4/8	
Sallachan	30	8	8	4/2	30	60	4/8	
Crieff	30	8	8	4/2	30	60	4/8	
Achnasaul	60	15	15	16/4	80	160	16/32	
Clunes	133	33	33	12/8	150	300	22/40	
Glenpeanmore	80	20	20	4/4	80	100	6/20	
Glenpeanbeg	100	25	25	4/4	100	200	8/19	
Kinlocharkaig	40	--	--	2/2	40	40	--	
Invermallie	50	17	17	8/4	50	100	8/16	
Achnacarry & Kiliross	40	13	13	0/4	40	80	8/16	
Moy	96	24	--	0/16	96	192	40/64	
Eracht & Glenmallie	110	27	27	12/8	160	120	24/48 11/22	
Inveruiskevulen	50	13	13	14/4	50	100	10/20	
Strone & Achnacarry	80	20	20	12/4	80	80	18/36	

1 SRO E768/7/1.

Table 4 (con'd) Lochiel Estate 1762

Name of farm	Great Cows	2 Yr. Olds	Stirks	Mares/ Horses	Sheep	Goats	Oats Meal	Sown/ Reaped
Barr	60	15	15	8/8	0	120	15/30	
Muirsherloch	50	12	12	4/4	50	0	12/24	
Banavy	60	15	15	8/8	80	0	22/33	
Corpach	40	18	18	6	70	0	20/40	
Annat	60	15	15	8/8	60	60	24/48	
Achdaliu	40	10	10	6/3	40	40	9/15	
Fassifern	150	35	35	20/4	100	0	22/22 ²	
Corrybeg	36	9	9	8/2	36	72	8/16	
Kinlochiel Drimnasally	100	25	25	8/4	100	200	12/24	
Stronlia	48	12	12	10/2	48	96	4/8	
Achintore	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Corran	120	30	30	8/8	150	80	--	
Corryshenrachen	40	10	10	0/4	40	40	--	
Lundavra	40	10	10	2/4	40	40	--	
Culchenna	120	30	30	8/8	120	120	--	
Onich	52	13	13	0/12	52	50	--	
Ballachulish	64	16	16	0/12	64	64	--	

2 The statistics given here of 22 bolls sown and 22 bolls of meal produced seem very low; even smaller returns were given for the Mamore farms, i.e. 28/20, or 8/5. The implication of such statistics is quite depressing.

(iii)

In spite of constant effort on the part of the factor, the tenants of Lochiel only slowly implemented his simpler schemes of agricultural improvement. In the aftermath of the 1745 rebellion, the factor was at first fully occupied in getting into production again burnt-out farms and imposing a new groundwork of law and order on a previously unpoliced area. Still Henry Butter drew up his first plan of improvement shortly after he was appointed factor of the estate in 1758.²² By January 1760 he had won the consent of the tenants to a new series of regulations designed to improve their farms. The tenants were to build stone-walled houses, to make dykes along farm boundaries and to enclose a few acres for winter hay; upon removal from a farm, the tenants would be compensated for their improvements. Butter intended the simple changes to "spirit them [the tenants] for further Improvements." Three years later he reported to the Barons of Exchequer that many of the tenants had built houses and fences, and that such improvements were "chearfully" recompensed by new tenants in the cases of removal or exchange.²³

In 1765 Butter drew up a second, more comprehensive plan of agricultural improvement for Lochiel. Once again the building of stone houses was emphasized, and the promise was made not only to have compensation paid for such improvements upon removal but also to give some financial assistance towards the cost of construction. The factor's intention was to do away entirely with the "Timber Wattled Huts covered with Turf" in which tenants, sub-tenants and cottars all lived. There were also more stringent requirements for

22 Butter was factor not only of Lochiel and Barisdale but also of three other annexed and forfeited estates in the area.

23 SRO E768/36/4, Memorial of Henry Butter, 1763.

dyke building on each farm. The tenants were to put up whatever fencing the factor considered their farms in need of, to be responsible for repairs to the dykes and to pay for such repairs if they neglected to carry them out personally. Other improvements included the readjustment of farm boundaries to simplify fencing, land and crop rotation, the extension of arable land by potato planting in rough ground, and the draining or clearing of wet and stony fields. As an enticement to begin these improvements, the tenants were offered a three year lease and an extension was promised to the industrious.²⁴

These plans and others that followed in the years of annexation changed Lochiel agricultural practices very slowly, and to a substantial degree left traditional ways of life intact. The same agricultural improvements were suggested again and again through the late eighteenth century, yet a conservative tenantry was able to delay their introduction and force a compromise between improved and traditional farming. In spite of Butter's blandishments, the 1772 survey revealed that the Lochiel tenants had carried out only minor parts of his two plans of improvement. The stone houses that were an essential first step had been built on only eleven farms. In most instances only the tenants had the new stone houses; thus there might be one such house on a farm like Glenpeanbeg where there was one tenant, or several stone houses where there were several tenants, as in Muirsherloch, but the great majority of the population continued to live in creel huts.²⁵

Some inroads were made on traditional, communal, land-working practices, but the clansmen successfully maintained their right to

24 SRO E786/13/13, Memorial and Plan of Improvement....

25 SRO RH2/8/26. Stone houses were built in Murlaggan, Achnasaul, Glenpeanbeg, Kinlocharkaig, Invermallie & Ardnosh, Barr, Easter Moy, Muirsherloch, Culcenna and Ballachulish.

the land. By 1772 the complex, traditional division of farm land had not been completely eliminated in spite of its inconvenience. "One farm has no grassing. Another has from two to six of great extent and at a great distance, consequently the former has more winter Provender than necessary while the latter cannot in that Season keep his cattle from starving."²⁶ Butter's constant encouragement of the building of fences and dykes had achieved minimal success; only six farms had done, or intended to do, such work. Achnacarry, Culchenna and Easter Moy had all made small garden enclosures near the farmhouse. More ambitiously, the tenant of Clunes had enclosed a meadow of seven acres with a dyke, and the tenant of Invermallie planned to enclose a field near his house. Several other fields at Invermallie, which had been reclaimed from wild ground by sowing potatoes, were now fenced with wood and used for growing oats.

Yet most of the tenants and sub-tenants ignored the advantages of enclosed fields, in part at least because they lacked the new skill needed to build fences. The Inveruiskevulen tenants were among the minority who had learned the difficult task of dry-stone walling: "The one tenant digs and leads the Stones, and the other builds." Most of the tenants still had to be convinced that such expensive and time-consuming labour was of any real value. The traditional practice of removing livestock to the sheilings in early summer undercut the need for fences since it gave the crops time to ripen. The tenants of Glendessary, and presumably those of other unenclosed farms, found that this journey protected their crops adequately and at the same time permitted the continuation of an agricultural tradition.²⁷

26 SRO RH2/8/26, 3.

27 SRO RH2/8/26, 15-6, 32-3, 61-2.

A mixed success met other improvements that the Commissioners attempted to introduce across the Lochiel estate. Highland tenants had always been aware of the need to enrich soils depleted by continuous crops of grain. It is not clear how widespread the use of fertilizers had actually been on the Lochiel farms before forfeiture, or to what extent the factor's plans of improvement had extended that usage. Morison's survey suggests that fertilizing with ferns or seaweed was quite common in 1772; nonetheless, only eight farms were specifically named as following such a program. Other improvements aimed at increasing arable production were not widely implemented. Only the farms of Strone, Glenpeanmore, Culchenna and Invermallie tried to increase their arable by planting potatoes in previously unused moss land. Similarly, arable land was permitted to lie fallow only on three farms: on Muick and Invermallie, oats were grown for two years and the land was left fallow for six years, while on Wester Moy three years of oats were followed by four years of fallow. The planting of potatoes was the single agricultural innovation that was quite widely adopted; in 1772 eleven farms were reported to be raising potatoes.²⁸ In spite of Butter's enthusiasm and authority, agricultural improvement proceeded slowly in Lochiel.

(iv)

The Barons of Exchequer and the Commissioners went a considerable distance in their attempt to equip Lochiel with the infrastructure of eighteenth century commercial society. In 1755 Mungo Campbell pointed out that the tenants of Locharkaig, Glenloy and Glenmallie had to burn the straw from their grain and then grind the grain by

28 SRO RH2/8/26, 15-7, 18-20, 29-30, 35-6, 44-6, 54-5.

hand. To prevent the loss that this practice entailed, Campbell suggested that a corn mill be built on the Water of Arkaig in the middle of the district; four years later £28.18s.10d. was granted for this purpose. Then in 1765 the Barons allowed another £30 to build a mill at the head of Locharkaig, where one had existed before the rebellion. The tenants in that district were willing to keep up the mill and to pay a rent equal to the interest on its cost.²⁹

The absence of bridges and roads made travel through the Highlands extremely treacherous, and the need for them was obvious in Lochiel through which several important routes passed. In 1761 Butter recommended that bridges be built over the Kychness, near Cornranan, over the Kiag, near the mouth of Locharkaig, over the Deshair, near the modern Strathan, over the Pean and the Fassifern. Accurate estimates of the cost of these bridges proved difficult to make. The bridge over the Kychness required a larger arch than had first been thought necessary, and hence to the original expenditure of £150, a further £100 had to be added.³⁰ Fast flowing rivers and a very wet climate frequently resulted in disaster and the need for expensive repairs. For instance in 1774, because of the rapidity of the water, the bridge of Loy needed repairs totalling £34.³¹ The factor also made continuous attempts to see that the roads were improved. As early as 1761 Butter stated that the country services had been called out to make roads "where formerly there were scarcely footpaths." Some six years later Butter could report that progress had been made on the country roads, but as in Barisdale, the

29 SRO E768/32/2, Memorial of Mungo Campbell to clear his Accts. for 1755; E786/13/1, 14 Aug 1759; E786/13/12, 19 Feb. 1765.

30 SRO E786/33/1,2. Reports by Henry Butter, 1761, 1767.

31 SRO E786/33/7, 12 Feb 1774.

clansmen had neither spades nor any other tools for the job. Butter requested the same £20 grant that the Barons had given in previous years, since this sum went no great length in equipping two to three thousand people with tools.³²

In the years following 1745, religious and civil authorities made a serious attempt to introduce Protestant churches and religious instruction into the previously neglected Highland region. The Commissioners of the Annexed Estates firmly supported this policy which represented one aspect of their Parliamentary mandate; they themselves recommended division of the ridiculously large Highland parishes four times between 1757 and 1765.³³ Such large parishes had made it impossible for the minister to serve his congregation adequately. Both the Commissioners and church officials believed that religion and general learning were bound up closely together. Schools were necessary to teach the English language and reading, without which it would be difficult to learn the principles of the Protestant religion. Thus the Commissioners believed that the support they gave to building schools also aided the Protestant church, and they were willing to extend this support if His Majesty allowed further funds for this purpose.

A parochial school was established at Fort William in 1760 and the factor received permission to sell up to twenty-five tons of wood from the Lochiel estate to pay for both the new school and the Schoolmaster's salary. The progress that the school made was a source of pride to the factor. In 1773 he reported with pride that Kilmallie school had 140 scholars, all of whom were doing well; the two masters taught Greek, Latin, Mathematics, book-keeping, writing

32 SRO E786/33/1,2.

33 E723/2, Answer to the Lords of Treasury, 14 Dec 1765, 103-6.

and reading English.³⁴ The alien content of this program as well as the distance of the school from most of the estate meant that the school served and therefore affected a minority of the inhabitants.

Butter recommended in October 1761 that schools be started in central locations across the estate, at Onich, Corrybeg, Achnasaul and Murlaggan; each would cost £35 for the construction of a house and the enclosure of grounds, and £12 for a salary. This plan which would have ensured relatively easy access to schools for all the inhabitants of the estate must have been too visionary or too expensive for the Barons. Only one school was approved, that on Loch Arkaig, at Murlaggan in 1764.³⁵ The close relationship between religion and education in the Highlands was illustrated by the work of the Murlaggan schoolmaster, Alexander McIntosh. Previously the people of Locharkaig had depended on the minister of Kilmallie, who lived near Fort William for their religious instruction, if indeed they received any. But McIntosh:

employs a considerable part of his time in catechising the People, and convenning them on the Sabbath Day to Read the Scriptures; And for this purpose had meetings with them at Eight Miles Distance from his place of Residence. By his great Application in Instructing the People in the Principles of the Christian Religion, a very Remarkable Reformation is wrought among them; As family Worship is Set up in many Families, and almost [sic] Effectual Check put to Theft & Depredations for which Locharkaigside was remarkable throughout the whole Highlands.³⁶

McIntosh's success was not that surprising since the Highlanders were not actually the irreligious, uneducated and lawless region that southerners thought them to be. The people of Locharkaigside

34 SRO E786/13/9, 21 Dec 1761; also E786/33/6, 7 Aug 1773.

35 SRO 786/33/1, Report, Oct. 1761; also E786/37/2, annotation.

36 SRO E768/58/5 (2), Certificate for Alex McIntosh.

had deep religious beliefs and a respect for learning that paved the way for the partial success of the Commissioners' program. Nonetheless, the focus on English learning limited interest in the school and most children were still miles distant from the nearest teacher.

The efficient use of the Lochiel woodland was an important part of the Commissioners' attempt to improve the Lochiel estate. Highland forests had been exploited ruthlessly without thought of the future but eighteenth century ideas of improvement foresaw a more orderly use of this resource. In early times the Great Wood of Caledon had covered western Inverness-shire and the Highlands generally with an immense forest of native pine and deciduous trees such as the oak, birch and hazel. But centuries of careless and wasteful use by proprietors and tenants alike had produced the bare hillsides and valleys now considered typical of the Scottish Highlands. Whole forests were frequently sold to timbermen for cutting and the bark was often stripped from trees for sale to tanners and the trees left to die.³⁷

When the Lochiel estate was forfeited, there were considerable woodlands on it. Within several years, however, Duncan McVicar, Collector of Customs at Fort William, reported that the woods on the estate had steadily been cut for the private use of a number of prominent men.³⁸ Similarly soldiers posted at the head of Locharkaig during the summer of 1753 testified that Cameron of Drimnasallie had not only cut down some oak trees but also had "destroyed a considerable number of Young trees by peeling the bark off them." The wad-

37 Darling, Highlands and Islands, 53, 66-7, 70-1. Youngson, After the Forty-Five, 30, 175.

38 SRO E768/13/5/1, 2. McVicar to Alston, 8 Feb 1753. These included George Douglas, Sheriff-Substitute, Cameron of Fassifern, Cameron of Corryshenrachen, Cameron of Glenpean; James Glass, Writer, William Stewart & Wm. McIntosh, all of Fort William.

setters and tenants had, through this course of events, merely continued their traditional exploitation of Lochiel's forest wealth. Their actions also served to deny the government's authority to control the Lochiel woods and estate. The factor responded to these habits with the appointment of three woodkeepers for the estate in 1754: one at the head of Lochiel and one on either side of Locharkaig.³⁹

The value of the Lochiel woodlands was substantial: in 1760 Francis Grant offered £120 per annum for a lease of the fir woods of Locharkaig. This figure was equal to twenty percent of the total agricultural rent paid by the wadsetters and tenants at that time. A few years later, John Godsmen, an Inverlochy merchant, estimated the value of the timber taken from the same wood and manufactured at the estate mill at Achnacarry to be £200-£300 yearly.⁴⁰ The profitability of the forests on the Lochiel estate led the factor to introduce strict rules for the management of the woods in his 1765 plan of improvement. The factor was empowered to enclose any hardwood found on the tenants' land and to sequester additional acres for new plantations.⁴¹ The tenants were compensated for any trees that they themselves planted and preserved. Butter was willing to supply the tenants with wood needed for household and farm activities; the only bark that they were allowed would be from trees purchased for this purpose. With these regulations the Commissioners were assured of a steady supply of timber both for estate use and for commercial sale. During the years of forfeiture and annexation, the Lochiel

39 For destruction by Cameron of Drimnasallie, see SRO E768/12/8; for appointment of woodkeepers, see SRO E786/5/3.

40 SRO E768/35/1, 2.

41 SRO E786/13/13, 2.

estate was managed so as to improve the property and it was equipped with many of the social and physical structures that the British government deemed essential for its assimilation to southern society.

(v)

Government control of the Highlands after 1745 forced some change in the tenants' perception of society, but the traditional belief in their right to land remained unaltered. The final escape of Prince Charles Edward and the collapse of the rebellion in 1746 did not immediately bring either peace or law and order to the Lochiel estate. Destructive raids by Cumberland's army followed, and prominent participants in the rebellion kept a low profile for a time or took to the hills when government forces approached. Such uneasy times furnished a ready excuse, if not an actual need, for customary forays in search of cattle. With Donald Cameron away in France, the people of Lochiel turned to the chief tenants and wad-setters for leadership in providing for their families.

This was particularly true in the most isolated part of the estate in Glen Arkaig. The area around the watershed of Loch Arkaig had long been dominated by the McMillans and the McPhees, who held this border district for Lochiel against Macdonell incursions by whatever means were necessary. When the king's authority was finally established around Fort William in the early 1750s, the factor and the local law officer were extremely critical of the inhabitants of Locharkaig. Mungo Campbell expressed the general opinion of the authorities in a Memorial to the Commissioners in 1755:

There are some McMillans on the Estate of Lochiel who are much complained of by the officers stationed in that country as Harbourers of Thieves.

particularly Even McMillan at Glenpeanmore who is reckoned to be very rich and maintains a great Influence among his Clan in that Country who are mostly under bad fame. Captain Chabbert stationed last summer at Locharkaig in his report...has represented this Man as doing all in his power to obstruct the suppressing of theft, as well as to hinder the troops from getting provisions of reasonable rates. The Memorialist knows no more than that he's head of the Tribe McMillan and in place of assisting him to bring offenders to Justice is at great pains to support any of them that falls into the hands of Justice.⁴²

The behaviour of the McMillans and their leader was likely more justified than Campbell suggested. The nature of the thefts supposedly committed by the McMillans was not revealed, but undoubtedly cattle or other livestock figured heavily in them. No shame, however, was attached to this practice in the Highlands and a clan leader who owned his men protection would certainly not wish to betray them for this particular activity. The sale of provisions at an inflated price to government troops was understandable when the losses suffered by the tenants a few years before are remembered.

A second factor, adding to the tension between the McMillan and McPhee leaders, and government officials also concerned law enforcement. The practice of "convincing" Highlanders to join British regiments, either to escape criminal prosecution or to support their families, did not produce dedicated soldiers. In 1754 two "fellows of the Clan McFee, who had been notorious offenders, and had for a course of Years, lived on Theft and rapine" finally surrendered and enlisted in the Earl of Home's Regiment. But the quite predictable occurred: "upon these Regiments being ordered to march from the Highlands, These and a great many other Highlanders deserted, and returned to their old trade of Thieving."⁴³ The clan

42 SRO E786/11/8, Memorial of Mungo Campbell, 1755.

43 SRO E786/32/7, Campbell to Barons, 26 Dec 1755.

leader, whose duty it was to protect his people, would have to be sorely pressed to hand over his clansmen to the military enemy of ten years earlier.

The civil government, however, possessed the power needed to put pressure on local leaders to comply with the laws concerning desertion. Lord George Beauclerk wrote to the Barons in November 1758 explaining that the McMillans and McPhees should be warned to remove from their farms. This step, Beauclerk believed, would:

tend greatly towards the Suppression of Theft in that part of the Country, and likewise contribute towards making desertion less frequent for the future....I am far from being desirous that these Tenants should at any time meet with harsh or Severe usage, but as they are yet very wild and uncivilized, the making them sensible that the holding their Leases from the Government must intirely depend on their good behaviour, will be a blessing to the Industrious part of the Highlands in General.⁴⁴

The factor proposed his own solution to the problem of deserters.

He believed that the McPhees and McMillans of Locharkaig "should be intermixed with other clans less Thievishly disposed."⁴⁵ The Locharkaig leaders were aware of the hostility of civil and military authorities over their sheltering of wanted men, and they may have been informed of the threat to remove them from their farms. In late 1758 Ewen McMillan of Glenpeanmore and Alexander McPhee of Glendessary succumbed to the pressure exerted by government officials and assisted Lt.-Col. Lambert in getting back some deserters.

Lord George Beauclerk had touched Highland leaders where they were the most vulnerable when he threatened to remove the clansmen from their farms. The Highlanders were brought to cooperate with

44 SRO E768/17/2 (3), Lord Geo. Beauclerk to Barons, 21 Nov 1758.

45 SRO E768/16/10, Campbell to Moncrieff, 3 Dec 1758.

government authorities because to do otherwise was to risk the loss of their land. Cattle lifting and irregular military service were sanctioned by tradition, but continued possession of the land was more important to the clansmen and this effected a change in their behaviour. By 1770 cattle rustling had ended and deserters were no longer given refuge. In spite of the forfeiture of Lochiel, the tenants continued to believe strongly in the enduring and necessary connection between the land and the people. Spokesmen for both the McMillans and McPhees expressed this view during the Valuation of Lochiel in 1762. John McMillan commented that:

he is head of the Tribe of McMillans or McIllyvoulds and he and his Ancestors have been kindly Tenants or Possessors of the lands of Muirlaggan for more than 300 years past.

Alexander McPhee of Glendessary emphasized his clan's special service:

he heard a tradition in the Country as if his Ancestor had got a better Bargain from Lochiel of this Farm than was usual; because it lay on the Confines of Glengarry's Lands; and he being Head of the Tribe of McPhees from whom personal Services were expected.⁴⁶

Other tenants echoed this conviction that 300 years of tradition and personal service to the chief were sufficient reason for a tenant continuing in possession of a farm.

The factor and Barons or Commissioners did not directly attempt to change this deep-seated belief but instead used it to accomplish their own ends. In 1764 John Cameron, a lieutenant in the 2nd Virginia Provincial Regiment asked for a lease for himself or his son Dougal of the farm of Strone, which his family had possessed from time immemorial. Cameron pointed out that he had built a stone

46 SRO E768/7/1, Valuation of Lochiel, 1762.

farm house and offices at Strone and made other improvements which few of his neighbours had attempted.⁴⁷ Butter supported his application for continued possession of Strone but added an obligation to enclose three acres yearly in the lease. In another instance, the factor himself emphasized that the farm of Invermallie had been in the possession of the same family "past memory" and he urged that Cameron's petition be granted since he was an improving farmer.⁴⁸ Thus despite the forfeiture and annexation of the estate, government officials did to a limited degree acknowledge the attachment of the tenants to the land and gave some recognition to the tenants' belief that they had a right to the farms they possessed.

Possession of the land was never permanent, although long occupation of a farm obviously led the tenants to believe that it should be. Clan lands had been lost from time to time by warfare or family misfortune; equally tenants, and particularly sub-tenants and cottars, were occasionally moved by the chief from one farm to another. The Annexed Estates factor did likewise, usually maintaining tenants in their farms but with exceptions to the rule. Involvement in a criminal matter could mean the loss of a share in a farm. Butter sometimes removed to another farm or gave a smaller share in a farm to those tenants who failed to make any agricultural improvements or who attempted to prevent such improvement. In March 1772, Allan Cameron, sub-tenant of one-quarter, and Duncan Robertson, sub-tenant of one-eighth, of Achnasaul were to be removed for keeping goats against estate regulations. Allan McMillan was to lose his one-eighth share of the same farm because he had been found guilty of theft.⁴⁹

47 SRO E768/23/19, Petition of John Cameron.

48 SRO E768/10/1-2.

49 SRO E768/23/38; E768/61/2, Memorial from Henry Butter, 2 Mar 1772.

The Barons' and Commissioners' power to remove tenants and the factor's role in determining who was to be removed was potentially the point of most serious conflict between the inhabitants of the estate and its administrators. The farm of Banavie, which was convulsed with conflict over five years, is the best example of this problem. There are two versions of events and the truth of the charges and counter-charges is impossible to determine. The first act of the conflict began in 1763 when the Barons refused the factor the authority to remove any more tenants without their permission. In the same month, Charles Stewart was confirmed in his quarter share of Banavie after he complained of being removed by the factor who wanted the land for his own use.⁵⁰ The next act revolved around the question of improvements, with the factor and Charles Stewart arguing that the other Banavie tenants refused to cooperate, and Donald Cameron, Donald Boyd, Flory Chisholm and Donald McEachan claiming that the factor had overstocked the farm to his own benefit under the pretext of helping the ground officer.⁵¹

Affairs reached a violent climax when the small tenants took justice into their own hands. Charles Stewart began his improvements and:

employed four Soldiers of the Regiment which then lay at Fort William to build it [a dyke] And they having wrought at it about an hour, Donald McKinnon, one of the tenants, with all the Women in the place came and offered to pull down what was built of the dyke but upon the Soldiers threatening to force them to desist, they returned to their Houses. The Soldiers went on with their work and that day finished Six Roods of the Dyke, but they no sooner left it than the said Donald McKinnon with Donald Cameron and Donald McEachan, two

50 SRO E768/23/14, 7 April 1763; E768/23/13, 26 March 1763.

51 SRO E768/23/12, Petition of the tenants of Banavie.

of the tenants of the said farm, & their wives
 Servants and Children Came and pulled down the
 dyke, Threw the whole seal and Earth of it into
 the River Lochy, which runs by it, and made the
 Ground as Level as when the Soldiers began.⁵²

This episode resulted in an order by the Barons in July 1767 that the guilty tenants be removed, but the same tenants were still there in 1768 and Butter reported that they refused to leave.⁵³ The incident reveals the hostility which unwanted change could evoke in the tenants although it is not clear whether they protested the building of dykes alone or the unjust distribution of farm land. Old Highland attitudes about the relationship between men and the land survived the years of forfeiture and if too directly attacked were defended violently by the Lochiel tenants.

(vi)

In Lochiel as in Barisdale, the Barons and Commissioners only partially realized their goal of improving and civilizing the estate, and that success was as much the result of the increasing social and economic integration of the Highlands into southern Britain as it was of official programs. Southern law and order were made effective throughout Lochaber within two decades of the Rebellion; even the most "lawless" parts of the estate were by then noted for their honesty and good behaviour. Jacobitism died an unbloody death, and the Lochiel tenants sent a steady stream of men to serve in the British army during the second half of the eighteenth century. Many of the tenants possessed a greater knowledge of and fervent belief in the Protestant religion which government-supported missionaries

52 SRO E768/23/36, 1767.

53 SRO E768/19/8, Butter to Moncrieff, 11 June 1768.

had brought to them. Highland idleness had been a misconception to begin with, but programs of improvement were applauded for having promoted industrious habits in the Lochiel tenants. In the field of language and culture, the government experienced little immediate success in Lochiel: the minority who learned to read and write English, for this generation at least, lost none of their appreciation of their own cultural inheritance.

The integration of the Highlands, and particularly the Annexed Estates, into the southern part of the United Kingdom had a slow, but intensifying impact on northern economic and social life. Constant military preparedness against the incursions of other clans and fear of cattle rustling either in home pastures or en route to market diminished substantially. Surplus agricultural production, which in Lochiel and Barisdale meant cattle, was now assured of access to market, while at the same time the agricultural improvements advocated by the factor, Barons, and Commissioners promised to increase that production. The thirty-five years to 1784 introduced the possibility of something more than a subsistence economy to the Lochiel tenants. At the same time the clan no longer formed an independent, self-governing unit of society. The district as a whole was now subject to officials appointed in Edinburgh or London; the estate itself was administered by a factor named by the same southern authorities. The direction of Highland life was now determined by men and ideas that originated outside Gaelic society.

The old belief that the land was the tenants' to farm was still intact after the years of forfeiture and annexation, during which time the tenants generally retained possession of their farms, albeit with an emphasis on improvement. The tenants' daily life

showed a minimal adaptation to new social and economic ideas. Agricultural improvement was accepted very slowly at first, but in the long term a compromise between improved, commercial agriculture and traditional Gaelic farming might well have evolved. The old social order was not greatly changed at the farm level: many families together farmed the land, whether or not their share in the farm was formally recognized in the rental and whether or not fences divided farms and family holdings. Yet the tenants had no legal right to their farms and their continued presence on the land rested on the landlord's dependence on the tenants as the most efficient users of the land.

Chapter 5

Western Inverness-shire, 1770-1800

(i)

The direction of economic development shifted sharply in western Inverness after 1780 with immediate effect on the people and society of that area. Between 1750 and 1780, agricultural improvement followed a moderate course that would have produced substantial change only in the long term. As the previous chapters have shown, social and economic control passed to southern authorities, but traditional life remained essentially the same on the Annexed Estates of Barisdale and Lochiel. While events unfolded somewhat differently on estates still controlled by clan chiefs, they also experienced a similar integration into the commercial kingdom of the south. The right of the tenants to land was not often denied, although very large increases of rent did threaten it in the late 1760s and 1770s.

Shortly after 1780 in Glengarry and Knoydart, and during the next two decades in Lochiel, local agriculture and economy were completely transformed. Large-scale sheep farming was introduced on substantial parts of these estates, leading to the disappearance of joint-tenant farms. The traditional farm economy provided the clansmen with an extremely modest standard of living and the tenants were unable to compete with the dramatically higher rents offered by southern graziers after 1780. Many western Inverness tenants, therefore, lost their share of a farm during these years. In its place, their landlords offered them at best a much smaller share in another farm, or a croft with only a few acres. At worst, the tenants were completely cleared from the estate. The new agricultural

regime ignored the tenants' cherished belief that each was entitled to a share in the land commensurate with his social and economic status.

(ii)

A brief survey of the particular case of the Glengarry estate should proceed a general discussion of western Inverness after 1750. The Glengarry estate was one of the western Inverness estates which remained in the hands of its clan chief after 1745, but the people of Glengarry experienced much of the same dislocation as did the clansmen of Barisdale and Lochiel. The Macdonells were also made subject to southern British law and justice, felt the effects of the commercialisation of the Highland economy, and were threatened with the sale of the estate to an outsider. The inhabitants of Glengarry were as fervent Jacobites as the people of Lochiel, but the politically cautious Glengarry chief, John McDonell, failed to give the Prince his open support. However, cadet members of the family led the clan in the Jacobite campaign of 1745-46 and McDonell himself was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. In the bloody aftermath of Culloden, both the tenants' and the chief's homes were burned, the estate was laid waste and the family papers and charters were carried off.¹ After 1746, the estate carried a heavy burden of debt as a result of John's incompetent administration before the Rebellion and the long imprisonment of two successive chiefs following it.

The Glengarry estate extended from the eastern slopes of the Great Glen above the River Oich, west forty miles to the sea; it

1. SRO E741/14/1, Memorial of Duncan McDonell, 1783.

sprawled over half the width of Scotland, following the natural line of communication along Glen Garry and Glen Quoich to Knoydart and North Morar. This area provided some excellent agricultural land and the seventy farms which were still organized on a traditional basis in 1750 produced good crops of corn and supported large herds of cattle. The most easterly part of the estate was the Barony of Abertarff, acquired by an earlier Glengarry from the Frasers of Lovat. Abertarff was situated on both sides of the river Oich and was divided into nine farms ranging in size from the one merk land of Inverviger and Achindanach to the eight merk land of Culachidh. The six farms held on wadsetts were all possessed by Macdonell gentlemen. Abertarff contained the best farmland found on the estate, and while somewhat short of pasture its farms were noted for their excellent quantities of both corn and beef.²

The second division of the estate was the land west of Abertarff lying on the north side of Glen Garry, called Slishmine. There were twelve farms in this area; four McDonell gentlemen possessed eight of these farms on wadsetts. The Slishmine farms had good arable and pasture land within their bounds, but by 1768 an increased population meant that the farms could no longer provide the tenants with corn year round. A good supply of peat was located in the area and a birch wood lay along the loch and reached a short distance up the hill. On the south side of Glen Garry lay the region known as Slishgarve and Achadrom; this extended west from the Loch and River Oich about twelve miles, and south to the height of land bordering Lochiel's estate. Slishgarve and Achadrom were not principally controlled by the wadsetters as were Slishmine

2 SRO GD44/25/28, Undated, unsigned letter quoting McDonell of Greenfield; also Estimate of Glengarry's estate.

and Abertarff. Eleven of the sixteen farms were small farms let to single tenants, or four-merk farms rented to several tenants. Only two of the farms were held on wadsetts, and the remaining three were rented by a wadsetter, Angus Macdonell of Greenfield. The farms of Achadrom were known for their arable and grass lands, while those of Slishgarve were valued chiefly for their pastures. Peat was available only high up on the mountains but birch and fir grew on most farms.³

The Knoydart division of the Glengarry estate lay roughly fifteen miles from the nearest farm in Glen Garry; in between was Loch Quoich, also part of the estate, but used only for pasture by the tenants of Slishmine. Glengarry held approximately one-third of Knoydart, since John McDonell had lost the wadsetted Barisdale to the government, and a seventeenth-century chief had given Scotus to his family as a personal holding. Of the fourteen farms remaining to Glengarry in Knoydart, ten were held on wadsetts by only four men, three McDonells and one Gillis. Glengarry's farms in Knoydart, unlike those of Barisdale, had an appreciable amount of arable land. In spite of the mountainous terrain, these patches of arable ground provided a year-round supply of corn for the tenants and an occasional surplus. The seaweed and shell sand available on the coast resulted in a "Luxuriancy in their Crops" which a visitor declared would not be believed in Speyside: "after one Boll's sowing of small Black Oats they often reap as much as produces ten

3 SRO GD44/25/28, Estimate of Glengarry's Estate." Hereafter referred to as "Estimate." The fact that many of the tenants were McDonells and that only a few Christian names were used makes it impossible to establish definitely the number of tenants. Only in a few instances do the rentals indicate that the tenant of one farm also has another farm. Also, Ibid, Assessment for the Duke of Gordon of the five parts of the Glengarry Estate. Hereafter referred to as "Assessment."

Bolls of Meal.⁴ The Knoydart farms also produced good hill cattle; they supported 352 milk cows and a proportionate number of yell cattle.⁵

The coastal location of Knoydart added to local prosperity in several ways. The seashore provided a great variety of shellfish for only a few hours' labour. Most of the tenants were seamen and each farm had one or two four-oared boats to take advantage of the rich fishing in Lochs Hourn and Nevis. The sea also gave the tenants an opportunity to avoid customs officers and duties. Rum and other exciseable liquors, and contraband goods were illicitly obtained in Ireland, brought by sea to Knoydart, and then sold in the interior of Scotland at a considerable profit. Such smuggling had become a thing of the past by 1768.⁶ The gentlemen of Knoydart were credited with stopping the trade because they disapproved of the indolence and debauchery that it created; but the presence of troops for several years after 1745 and the government's determined enforcement of the law in this region was likely a more significant cause for the abandonment of such a profitable trade.

The fifth part of Glengarry's estate was North Morar, which stretched from Glen Dessary in Lochiel westward to the sea. It lies immediately south of Knoydart, bounded by Lochs Nevis and Morar. Though not as high as its northern neighbour, Morar had a rugged geography which greatly limited arable farming. The farms were divided among a large number of small tenants and very few were held by gentlemen. Only two of the nineteen North Morar farms were held on a wadsett and both of these were held by one man. The little

4 SRO GD44/25/28, Estimate; Assessment.

5 SRO GD44/25/29, Division and Arrangement of Knoydart.

6 SRO GD44/25/28, Assessment.

arable land found on the farms was cultivated with the spade; its fertility was assured by the use of sea weed and shell. Hill cattle were not as important in the North Morar economy since the peninsula provided little land for pasture.⁷

The Glengarry farms were organized on traditional lines with settlement on each centered around the limited arable land, and with common grazing shared according to the soum held by each family. The right of all clansmen to land remained unchallenged on the estate before 1780. The population of Glen Garry itself stood at roughly 1400 in 1764 and the people were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.⁸ English schools reached only a minority of the population: as late as 1796 one parochial and two SPCK schools served the entire parish of Kilmonivaig.⁹ An English education was thus the prerogative of the few, while Gaelic language and culture were the dominant means of expression in daily life on the estate.

Between 1750 and 1780, the weakening of the old Gaelic social order in Glengarry was evident principally in the actions of the chief and the other clan gentlemen. During the first eighteen years of this period, it was the self-interested behaviour of the Glengarry gentlemen that revealed the penetration of individualistic and commercial values from the south. A succession of weak, imprisoned or minor chiefs to the Glengarry estate between 1721 and 1768 left the leadership of the clan to the chief's close male relatives. The Macdonell gentlemen took advantage of this interval without a strong chief to improve considerably their own economic and social position.¹⁰

7 SRO GD44/25/28, Estimate; Assessment.

8 Rev. R. Macdonald, "The Highland District in 1764", The Innes Review, XV, 2 (1964), 148-50.

9 O.S.A., Kilmonivaig, vol. 17 (1796), 545. Glengarry forms close to half of the parish of Kilmonivaig.

10 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes. 2nd Series, 125.

Many of them possessed wadsetts on Glengarry farms; lacking the effective restraint of a chief, the Macdonell gentlemen had administered the farms for their own personal benefit at the expense of the community as a whole. An outside observer, Andrew MacPherson, summed up the state of Glengarry in 1768:

You cannot imagine any thing more grossly mis-managed than this Estate has been during the Lives of the two Last Superiors which has very near totally Extinguish[sic] the lower Class of Tenants but the Gentlemen live very much at their Ease upon it, by these Means the Present Rent is in some Part but Indifferently Paid.¹¹

Glengarry was considered unequalled in the north for the raising of cattle and the traditional holdings of the tenants were quite attractive in the post-1745 economic climate. The Macdonell gentlemen used their position as chief tenants and wadsetters to benefit from the productivity of the joint-tenant farms, while traditions of guiding the clan for the good of all were abandoned in the pursuit of personal wealth and success.

After 1768 the Glengarry chief was the prime innovator and principal beneficiary of the steadily increasing commercialisation of the estate economy. In that year, Duncan McDonell came of age and the control of estate affairs soon shifted back into the hands of a strong chief. The first major decision Glengarry took was made jointly with the Macdonell gentlemen and was seemingly quite traditional in nature. A large debt hung over the estate and a sale of part or all of the property appeared to be the only means of relieving the burden. The Duke of Gordon was considered the most likely purchaser since his lands in Badenoch bordered on Glengarry, and his agent acquired a detailed assessment and rental of the

11 SRO GD44/25/28, Copy of a letter from Andrew MacPherson of Benchar to Charles Gordon, W.S., 29 Nov 1768.

estate. The Duke valued the estate at £60,000, but feeling among the Glengarry gentlemen and their chief was against a complete abandonment of clan lands. Although the decision to sell was legally Duncan's alone to make, "the whole Gentlemen of the Clan" met with him in Edinburgh to determine the fate of the estate.¹² Their joint decision was to sell North Morar to General Simon Fraser, a course of action least disruptive to the interests of the numerous gentlemen tenants who for the most part lived elsewhere.

By 1768 it was clear that the income produced by the Glengarry estate was very low, quite out of proportion to the estate's value if sold on the open market. In an attempt to forestall any more radical action by their chief, the Macdonell gentlemen in Knoydart offered to surrender their old tacks and wadsetts in 1768 and rent their old farms for a more substantial sum than had previously been paid.¹³ It was not long after this that Duncan McDonell concluded that the many clan gentlemen still received too large a share of the estate profits. McDonell no longer believed that the land belonged to all the clansmen, but felt himself free to use it to greatest personal advantage. Shortly after his marriage in 1772, Duncan McDonell re-let his estate on commercial principles: the remaining wadsetters were given notice and offered tenancies on more stringent terms.¹⁴ By the end of the 1770s, then, most of the Glengarry tenants paid a rent determined by commercial values, although they did still occupy their traditional holdings. This commercialisation proceeded apace across western Inverness and the Highlands generally, and like the Macdonell gentlemen and chief,

12 SRO GD44/25/29, A. MacPherson to C. Gordon, 23 June 1769.

13 SRO GD44/25/28, Assessment.

14 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 124-6.

other Highland gentry enthusiastically adopted the profitable roles and values of commercial landowners.

(iii)

By 1780, a turning point had been reached in the development of a commercial agriculture not just in Glengarry but across western Inverness. Cameron of Fassifern summed up the progress of agricultural improvement some years later with the comment that "the turn of the people for improvements is not great."¹⁵ The acceptance of new farming techniques was very slow among a people noted for their conservatism and attachment to traditional practices. Under the guidance of the Annexed Estates' officials, the Lochiel and Barisdale tenants began to follow some of the principles of improved farming, but even among the chief tenants change was slow and piecemeal. Many of the assumptions underlying improvement were quite foreign to Gaelic society and required adaptation or even abandonment of traditional values. Most significant in this regard was the new farming's orientation towards a commercial rather than a subsistence economy. Over the second half of the eighteenth century, agricultural production became increasingly specialized and was intended for the market where a profit above living expenses was achieved. The man who had traditionally expected only a bare living from the land had little reason to desire the large increase of production that improved agriculture could give. Individual improvements such as the potato, which quickly became a part of local subsistence, did gain wide acceptance. Beyond that level, the continued

15 Cameron of Fassifern, Appendix no. 1 in James Robson, General View of the Agriculture in the...Western Part of Inverness-shire, (London, 1794), 53-4.

predominance of traditional Gaelic farm organization and values slowed the penetration of agricultural improvement.

The impetus behind agricultural improvement was the increasingly sophisticated economy of southern Britain. In western Inverness, improvers soon found that both rugged geography and a wet climate strictly limited the value of any improvements in arable farming. Reforms aimed at pastoral farming were more successful: in Knoydart and in Lochiel the size of animal herds increased partly as a result of improved farming techniques. By the 1780s however, the limits of improvement schemes had seemingly been met given existing social and economic conditions. Yet the burgeoning cities of southern Britain eagerly sought wool for their expanding manufactures and mutton for their new inhabitants.¹⁶ The excellent grazing lands of Lochiel, Glengarry and Knoydart could be made more productive, as well as extremely profitable, by the introduction of new, high-yielding breeds of sheep.

Such sheep, in particular the famous blackfaced Cheviots, were first introduced to this area in 1764. The improving factor of the Annexed Estates of Lochiel and Barisdale imported middle-sized, blackfaced sheep from Douglas and found these animals well suited to Highland conditions.¹⁷ Butter suggested that Cheviot rams should also be imported to improve the quality of native Highland sheep, which were "small and bad woolled." It seems that this suggestion had been adopted in both Barisdale and Lochiel by 1772. The first Cheviots brought into western Inverness were intended to become an integral part of the traditional agricultural economy and were accepted by the tenants.¹⁸

16 Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community, 15.

17 SRO E741/27/11, Butter to Board, 24 March 1766.

18 SRO RH2/8/26, Report of the contents...of Lochiel.

Sheep farming had its remarkably disruptive effect on Inverness-shire only after 1780 when landlords abandoned traditional agriculture and shifted to capital intensive, sheep farming. The slow improvement of local flocks and the gradual establishment of cheviots in the county was rapidly given up, and entire farms were stocked at one time with blackfaced sheep driven north from the Borders. Such huge flocks completely replaced not only Highland black cattle but also many tenants and sub-tenants, since the sheep needed, as winter and spring grazing, the low land previously used for tenant subsistence. During the early years of large-scale sheep farming, some farms were let to the original joint-tenants; difficulties in managing and in marketing produce made such attempts hopeless.¹⁹ By and large only outside graziers were believed to possess both the capital and the expertise needed to make these ventures succeed.

The deciding factor in bringing about this agricultural revolution was the large profit to be made from intensive sheep farming. The complex economy of southern Britain could provide what would appear in the Highlands to be tremendous prices for wool and mutton. Duncan McDonell of Glengarry appears to have been the first local proprietor to succumb to the high rents offered by the incoming graziers.²⁰ In 1782 McDonell turned over Glen Quoich to Thomas Gillespie and Henry Gibson to be stocked as a sheep farm. The Glengarry tenants had used Glen Quoich primarily as pasture and hence no large-scale removals were necessary; however, the loss of this pasture did reduce the number of cattle that the tenants could keep. The Glen Quoich sheep farm evidently proved successful since

19 O.S.A., Kilmallie, vol. 8 (1793), 427.

20 A discussion of the impact of sheep farming on western Inverness rents is part of the general analysis of rents in section (v).

three years later there were widespread removals from the farms along the twelve-mile length of the glen and river Garry. Smaller numbers of tenants were also warned to remove, or in some cases, rewarned, in 1786, 1787, and 1788.²¹ While it is not clear precisely how much of Glen Garry was under sheep and how much still in the hands of the tenants, sheep certainly outnumbered black cattle by 1796. The parish of Kilmonivaig, of which Glengarry formed close to half, was stocked with 60,000 sheep and a pitiful 1,500 cattle at that date.²²

Sheep farming spread into Knoydart in 1784 when most of the Scotus estate was stocked with Cheviots. Tenants were warned to leave three of the Scotus farms in that year, but in April 1785 the Glendulochan tenants were given leave to stay on their lands while Inveriebeg and Scotus were "planted" with sheep.²³ The remainder of the Knoydart peninsula belonged entirely to Glengarry since Barisdale reverted to him in 1784 when the forfeiture was lifted. Glengarry cleared tenants from the north side of Knoydart in late 1785 and he again removed tenants in 1788. All of the Scotus estate and a great part of Glengarry's were laid out in sheep farms by the time of the Old Statistical Account in 1796.²⁴

On the Lochiel estate, the adoption of sheep farming was not quite as sudden or as thorough as on Glengarry's estate. Some of the Cameron tacksmen themselves tried the new method of farming in

21 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 127-8; also SRO GD128/65/12, Precept of Removing, 1 April 1785.

22 O.S.A., Kilmonivaig, vol. 17 (1796), 544.

23 SRO GD128/8/2/80, Answers for R. MacDonell, 17 Nov 1786; SRO GD 128/8/2/38, List of tenants, 1784; and SRO GD128/7/1/29, Letter from R. MacDonell, 30 April 1785.

24 SRO GD128/7/1/41, Letter from R. MacDonell, 30 Nov 1785; also SRO GD128/7/2/8, Letter from A. MacDonell, 29 June 1788; and O.S.A., Glenelg, vol. 16 (1795), 269.

order to pay the increased rents set by Donald Cameron of Lochiel in 1793. The Statistical Account of Kilmallie parish, prepared in that year, indicated that three-quarters of the parish was laid out in sheep farms, while the other quarter still supported black cattle. In all there were 6,000 cattle, 500 horses, 1,000 goats and 60,000 sheep stocked in Kilmallie. A comparison of real rents to valuation in the parish shows that on Lochiel's estate the ratio was 6:1 in contrast to the other properties which ranged from 9:1 to 22:1.²⁵ The relatively low rental of Lochiel suggests that much of the black cattle farming carried on in the parish in 1793 was concentrated on the Lochiel estate. The change to sheep farming seems to have occurred on a farm by farm basis there, as successive tenants adapted to the new economy; the removal of small tenants was spread over a number of years, of which the 1804 clearance of Glendessary and Locharkaig was the most notable.²⁶

The initial stage of agricultural improvement from 1750 to 1780 was largely carried out within the framework of the traditional social order in western Inverness. The change in direction after 1780 to capital-intensive sheep farming resulted in the dispossession of tenants from land that they considered their own, and was in direct opposition to traditional Gaelic social values. The idea of agricultural improvement was not unfamiliar in this area since the Annexed Estates' factors had advocated improvement during their thirty-odd year tenure. But the great majority of tenants, including half-pay officers, lacked either the capital or the expertise to become successful sheep farmers. Some tried and failed. Most

25 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 210-1; also O.S.A., Kilmallie, vol. 8 (1793), 424-7.

26 Somerled MacMillan, Bygone Lochaber, (Glasgow, 1971), 174-5.

were not given the chance since landowners could see no reason for renting valuable grazing land to novice improvers. The second stage of agricultural improvement, the sheep farming introduced between 1782 and 1804, finally destroyed traditional Highland agriculture and social organization in western Inverness and severely threatened the economic and social position of the clansmen.

(iv)

The traditional tenant economy in western Inverness was subject to the stress of rising prices in the second half of the eighteenth century. The basic elements of this subsistence economy are presented in Table 5; the table is based on a 1771 report on Barisdale, but the picture it presents could not have differed greatly in other parts of western Inverness. The tenants' principal income was derived from the yearly sale of black cattle, the number varying from three to nine animals. This income was used to provide oatmeal for family consumption for several months of the year and to pay the rent to the landlord. Five of the thirteen Barisdale farms were reported as not selling dairy products or sheep; presumably the other eight farms continued in some degree the practice observed in 1768 of exporting surplus butter and cheese to Skye in exchange for oatmeal. The herring fishing, which furnished a substantial part of the tenants' food supply, must also have added to their cash income since the Bounty men were reported to pay 8d. to 4s. a barrel for fish.²⁷ However, only Groab, which employed two boats in fishing, was likely to have any sizeable income from this activity.

The expenses occurred in operating the Barisdale farms appear in most cases to have been greater than the income received from

27 SRO E741/46, 3.

Barisdale Economy 1771¹

(expressed in shillings)

Farms	Tenant Income		Tenant Expenses			Loss by Bone Break
	Sale of Cattle	Other Sales	Meal	Rent	Servants	
Munial	250	No butter, wool cheese or sheep	48	133	100	75
Lee	320 ³	--	48 ³	195	150	--
Riddaroch	336	No butter, cheese or sheep	160	162	180 ²	--
Glaschyle	270	No butter or cheese	96	107	66 ²	--
Miolary	320	No butter or cheese	64	107	50 ²	--
Groab	225	2 boats in herring fishing	80	110	100 ²	140
Riguel	145 ³	--	64	84	66 ²	84
Brunsaig	270	--	80	181	132 ²	45
Sallachry	120	--	20	110	66 ²	--
Torcruin	120	No butter, milk cheese or wool	0	82	66 ²	--
Carnoch	768	--	360	385	330	288
Achagline	420	--	160	175	110 ²	84
Sorious	120	--	40	55	50	--
	166	--	40	55	50	75

1 SRO E741/46, Description of the Barisdale farms. The rent given here is the sum of all money and produce paid by the tenants but it excludes the value of services provided to the landlord.

2 Servants' pay is calculated at the rate of pay stated for Lee, Munial and Carnoch, i.e. 33/ for men and 16/ for women, except in the case of Sorious where men received 20/ and women 10/.

3 These figures are estimates based on the soum for the figure given for cattle sales and on comparative evidence for the purchase of meal.

the sale of cattle. Rent was the largest single expense on all farms except Riddarroch, and on seven farms the rent paid by the tenants equalled more than half the profit from cattle sales. A second major expense was servants' wages, an essential part of the agricultural economy since dairy and arable farming were labour-intensive. The Barisdale tenants grew on average from one-half to two-thirds of their corn, so a certain cash expenditure for meal was unavoidable and such costs were of course subject to market fluctuations. Undoubtedly the most disheartening expense the tenants incurred was the loss of cattle from broken bones due to falls on the hills. The yearly loss of even a couple of animals was a serious financial drain, although few farms reached the state of Riguel of which Morison said that they lost by bone break a sum equal to the rent.²⁸

The cash value of the other economic activities of the tenants was unlikely to have boosted total household income to a point where this was very much greater than farm expenses. The income gained from the sale of dairy products, sheep, fish, or horses was a small part of that received from cattle sales. The economy of the Barisdale tenants was precariously balanced between the consumption of home produce, and of purchased foodstuffs barely paid for by the sale of local surpluses. However there is no evidence to suggest that the Barisdale tenants substantially failed to meet their expenses, since no heavy arrears of rent were reported for the estate. Yet, on most farms there could have been no margin of waste: a poor harvest, the loss of a number of cattle, or the two disasters combined could throw the tenants into debt and extreme hardship.

28 SRO E741/46, 21-2.

It is not clear whether the economic circumstances of the Barisdale tenants were common to small tenants throughout western Inverness. While the gentry and the larger tacksmen had certain resources to cope with a changing economy, the small tenants had no financial reserve and were extremely vulnerable to the effects of economic change. On the Lochiel estate, Morison referred to the economic squeeze that had resulted from the "loss sustained by death of Cattle, the high price of Victuall and the Increase of Servants wages of late years."²⁹ Servants' pay rose steadily through the second half of the eighteenth century. Men's wages rose from 18s. plus keep in 1755 to 33s. in 1771 and 40-60s. plus keep in 1795; during the same period, the wages paid to women remained half that paid to men, but rose at the same rate.³⁰ The ability of the tenants to pay higher wages depended on an increase in their own incomes. Certainly the price of cattle rose continuously from 20s in 1740, to 40s. in 1771, and to 50-60s. in 1791, while the price of dairy products also more than doubled between the two latter dates. The price of meal, which had to be purchased by a majority of tenants, rose by roughly forty percent during the twenty years after 1771.³¹ The precise effect of these separate increases probably varied from one tenant to another, depending on additional factors such as population pressures, the impact of improved agriculture, the potato, access to markets and supplies, and increases in rentals. Nonetheless, it seems clear that the small tenants were forced to balance off their larger incomes against greater expenses and had very little chance to improve their already marginal economic position.

29 SRO RH2/8/26, 2.

30 For 1755, see Reports on the Annexed Estates, 51. For 1771, see SRO E741/46, 10-1. For 1795, see O.S.A., Glenelg, vol. 16 (1795), 273-4.

31 Gray, Highland Economy, 142. Also O.S.A., Kilmallie, vol. 8 (1793), 435.

(v)

In such a narrowly based economy, the amount of rent paid by the tenants for their farms was a major factor in their economic well-being.³² The proportion of rent to income observed on the Barisdale estate in 1771 was generally the traditional percentage that the small tenants paid their landlord. In return for this large sum, the chief had given his tenants military leadership, had managed and ordered clan affairs, and had supported the tenants in years of scarcity. The half century following 1745 saw government law and order substituted for clan justice, the forfeiture of several clan estates and little scarcity except in 1782. At the same time the steady expansion of the British economy brought better prices for Highland exports, which offered either a greater margin of profit to the tenants or higher rents for the landlord.

The movement of rents was inexorably upward during the eighteenth century, but the rate of increase varied over time and place. The first significant change in rents paid in the Highlands was the conversion of services and produce paid to the landlord into a money rent. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, most tenants still paid a proportion of their rent in kind. In Lochiel, for example, the tenants were expected to provide 55 stone of cheese, 55 quarts of butter, 51 wedders, 25 calves and 26 kids yearly; when this payment was converted into cash it equalled £58 or twelve per cent of the Lochiel rental of 1748.³³ Similarly in Barisdale, a

32 The rent paid by Highland tenants in the first half of the eighteenth century and earlier included a variety of cash payments and services to the landlord. Thus lists of rents may vary considerably, depending on whether or not services were converted to cash and then added to the cash rental for a seemingly higher payment.

33 SRO E768/1, Abstract Rental, 1748/9.

set amount of butter, cheese, and sheep was payable with the rent, and represented in cash terms fifteen percent of the total rent; services provided by the tenants had a cash value equivalent to another seven percent of the rent.³⁴ "Casualties" and hens were paid along with the cash rent on the Glengarry estate in 1768 and ranged in value from twelve to twenty-five percent of that money rent.³⁵ The tendency to convert such payments of produce and services into cash grew during the next two decades as landowners' need to live off their estates declined and the desire for a larger cash income correspondingly increased.

On the Forfeited and Annexed Estates, increases of rent were generally linked to agricultural improvement and greater farm production. In Barisdale the rise of rents was particularly modest, suggesting that Barisdale, as Mungo Campbell suspected, had been high rented before it was forfeit. The exact amount of the estate rental before forfeiture was not established immediately after 1746. The judicial rental taken by David Bruce in 1748 found that the Barisdale rents had been set at £83 prior to 1746 and at £63 after the devastation of that year. However, eight years later Campbell pointed out that the tenants had concealed part of the traditional rent paid to the landlord; incidentals including kitchen cow, May Day presents and personal services brought the real rental of the estate to £133.³⁶ Campbell believed that this figure was much greater than either the value of the land or the tenants' ability to pay warranted.³⁷

34 SRO E741/19, Rental of Barisdale, Crop 1755.

35 SRO GD44/25/28, Estimate, 1768.

36 SRO E741/1/1, Judicial Rental, 1748; SRO E741/25/1, Memorial of Mungo Campbell, 15 March 1756; SRO E741/19, Rental of the estate of Barisdale, Crop 1755.

37 SRO E741/25/1, Memorial of Mungo Campbell, 15 March 1756.

Nonetheless, the Barisdale rental was set at this rate, albeit with minimal increases in succeeding years.

The first increase in the Barisdale rents occurred during the 1760s when nine of the tenants agreed to build dykes on their farms. The cost of this improvement was borne by the landlord, but the interest on the money expended on each farm was added to its rent. Thus the estate rental was raised by five percent and individual farms paid from 2s. to 20s. more. The tenants accepted a second and more extensive plan of improvement in 1774 when an additional rent of £29 was laid on their farms.³⁸ All of the rent increases, twenty-one percent from 1755, was used for the benefit of the tenants and the improvement of the estate. No further rent increases were imposed before 1784 when Barisdale was disannexed and returned to Glengarry.³⁹

On the Lochiel estate, rentals followed a roughly similar pattern of increase as in Barisdale. The abstract rental taken in 1748 valued the estate at £451 but this figure later proved to be inaccurate.⁴⁰ In 1752 certain tenants were determined to have paid a "superplus" rent to the benefit of the Lochiel family. Information given to Duncan McVicar, Collector of Customs at Fort William, suggested that these payments were possible only because of the inaccuracy of the abstract rental. The 1748 figures were in fact only the "rent which was paid in time of Sir Evan Cameron, Grandfather to the late Lochiel, and Since his death, there was a yearly augmentation of £100 or thereby laid upon the whole estate." It was

38 SRO E741/20/4, Rental of the Annexed Estate of Barisdale; SRO E741/20/6, Rental of...Barisdale, 1774.

39 SRO E741/20/8, Rental of Barisdale, 1784-5.

40 SRO E768/1, Abstract Rental of Lochiel 1748/9.

with considerable difficulty that the true level of rents was established: the correct rate for several farms was only determined in 1756.⁴¹ The tenants were charged the actual rents paid in 1745 as soon as these were discovered by the factor; the true rental of Lochiel was set as £560 and that rent was maintained throughout the 1760s.

In 1771 and 1773 small additional rents of £9 and £2 were applied to nine farms which had begun improvements.⁴² Only in 1774 did a major increase occur in Lochiel rents as they jumped to £863, an increase of £268 or 45 percent. All of this additional rent was to be spent on the improvement of the Lochiel estate, in particular building dykes. The increase was based on the number of cattle each farm was believed capable of supporting, and hence was not applied evenly across the estate.⁴³ Farms already stocked to capacity had small rises of perhaps twelve percent, while the majority of farms had increases of twenty-five to fifty percent. This new level of rent in Lochiel represented a rough balance of £1 rent to each four soums of cattle, slightly more favourable to the tenant than the Barisdale rate of one to 3.7. Rents were not again increased by the Annexed Estates' Commissioners and there is even some evidence to suggest that the full rate of additional rents was not always collected.⁴⁴

As in Lochiel and Barisdale, rents on the Glengarry estate remained at early eighteenth century levels until the 1770s. In 1762 Glengarry only collected £330 in rents, while the wadsetters

41 SRO E768/13/1, Letter from D. McVicar, 23 June 1752; SRO E786/11/13, Memorial of Mungo Campbell, Read 20 Feb 1756.

42 SRO E768/56/1, Rental of Lochiel for 1770.

43 SRO E768/56/2 (1); SRO E768/56/4.

44 SRO E723/3.

received another £400. Shortly after his marriage in 1772, Duncan McDonell redeemed the wadsetts and raised rents dramatically. In Slishmine rents were increased by 170 percent and in Slishgarve by 130 percent; Knoydart and Abertarff presumably experienced increases of the same order.⁴⁵ Unlike the Annexed Estates, there was no indication that this large jump in rent was invested in improvements on the farms that paid it. The higher rents merely represented a financial adjustment in the operation of the estate: Glengarry increased his income by eliminating the wadsetters and by reaping his share of the tenants' larger cattle income.

The eighteenth century trend towards higher prices for cattle allowed both improving and non-improving landlords to increase rents steadily. But the huge market demand for sheep and mutton that developed in the 1780s and 1790s offered even more lucrative prospects to the landowner with good grazing land for sheep. The effect, first of increased cattle prices and then of buoyant sheep prices, was clearly mirrored in the movement of rents on Highland estates. In Glengarry, for instance, rent was increased by 472 percent, from £732 in 1768 to £4,184 in 1802. The accelerating rate of increase is particularly evident in the rent of those farms stocked with sheep. Glenquoich and Inchlaggan provided an income of £40 at mid-eighteenth century under traditional farm organization and production.⁴⁶ In the 1770s these farms, with rising cattle prices, paid a rent of £115, an increase of 180 percent. But by 1802 when sheep farming was well established in this part of the estate, Glenquoich,

45 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 120-4; SRO GD44/25/30, Rental of Glengarry's Estate, 1779.

46 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 120-32; SRO GD44/25/28, Estimate, 1768.

Inchlaggan and Kinlochourn paid a rent of £970, a fantastic jump of 740 percent.⁴⁷

Very large increases of rent were the order of the day on most of the estates in western Inverness at the end of the eighteenth century. The small estate of McDonnell of Scotus, which rented for £56 in 1773, was stocked with sheep in 1785 and furnished an income of £385 by 1795, an increase of 587 percent.⁴⁸ Similarly Barisdale, which had seen very modest increases of rent under the Annexed Estates' administration, was let in 1802 for £906, an increase of 456 percent from eighteen years earlier. In Lochiel the rate of increase was even more spectacular. From the 1784 total of £971, rents rose by 21 percent in 1788 and by a further 27 percent in 1793.⁴⁹ In 1804 Glendessary and Loch Arkaig were stocked with sheep and the farms in this area alone paid a rent of £2,375, an increase of 873 percent from 1788.⁵⁰

The effect of these large increases of rent on individual tenants varied according to their ability to adapt to the new type of farming. Rents were most greatly increased in farms that were deemed suitable for conversion to sheep: Glenquoich in Glengarry, and Murlaggan and Callich in Lochiel saw well over sevenfold increases in rent when they were stocked with sheep.⁵¹ In many

47 SRO GD44/25/30, Rental, 1779; Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 131-2.

48 Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, "The Macdonells of Soctos," TGSI, vol. xvi, 88.

49 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 131-2; 208-11.

50 Cameron of Lochiel Papers, Copy of a letter from D. Cameron to A. McMillan, 23 March 1804.

51 The exact increase of rents is difficult to establish since several old farms were often combined to make the new sheep farm under one of the previous names. The comparative boundaries of old and new farms could not be established from the written record.

instances the old tenants were unwilling or unable to pay the new rents and were removed from their farms. A few tacksmen adapted to the new order, but most of the sheep farms were let to incomers from the south. In spite of the high rents charged by highland landlords, most of the new tenants made a considerable profit on their farms.

Farm rents were not raised at the same time across an estate. Particularly in the early years of sheep farming, some farms were left under black cattle in the possession of the old tenants. On these farms the increase of rent was not quite as dramatic as on the sheep farms: for instance Brunsaig, Riguel, Groab and Kyles paid only £164 to Glengarry in 1802, an increase of merely 250 percent.⁵² Nonetheless, the new rents still represented a substantial part of the tenants' earnings, and as a result it was landlords, rather than tenants, who often benefited from higher cattle prices at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The adoption of sheep farming and the high rents that accompanied it produced no amelioration in the economic affairs of western Inverness tenants. Those tenants who managed to maintain their farms were kept at a subsistence level by high rents; their numbers steadily diminished as more farms were turned over to sheep. Those tenants who lost their farms faced a bleak economic future as day labourers or crofters.

(vi)

In 1800 western Inverness was an entirely different society from what it had been in 1745. The sixty years following the Jacobite Rising saw economic, social and political change that set in motion a complete alteration of the social environment of the

52 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 131-2.

region; while such change had its roots in the century before 1745, it was most rapid and decisive over the following sixty year period. For the most part the developments of this period were imposed on Gaelic society from without or were carried out by local leaders influenced by non-Highland values and objectives. The shift from internally-set goals to a dependence on southern ideas and initiatives was an indication of the weakness of the old social order and of the strength of the forces of change.

The events of 1745-6 represented the final destruction of Highland political independence; henceforth its political future would be closely bound up with the parliamentary oligarchy of the south. Surviving elements of the ancient Celtic legal tradition were quickly rendered superfluous as southern legal precepts and administration were thoroughly enforced after 1745. The heritable jurisdictions, which ensured a local, patriarchal form of justice, were abolished in favour of the sheriff court. The serious attempts in the second half of the eighteenth century to integrate the Highland economy into that of the south also forced immediate change and suggested further long-term alterations. The introduction of commercial agriculture implied a re-organization not just of Highland farming practices and social structures, but also of men's attitudes towards the land. More efficient cattle production was achieved, improved agricultural techniques were made known, and finally highly profitable sheep farming began to replace traditional mixed farming. Although the tenants had relative security of tenure before 1784, the introduction of sheep farming destroyed such security and left the majority of tenants landless, on small crofts, or threatened with such prospects.

Despite the grim distaste with which southern society viewed Gaelic language and culture, this essential core of Highland life was least altered during the rapid changes of the late eighteenth century. Government advocacy and support for English language education did make certain inroads in this region. Presbyterian missionaries brought to the clansmen not only religious dogma but also southern attitudes and language. The continuing isolation of Gaelic society and the minimal intervention of outside agencies in daily life, however, resulted in little deterioration in the use of Gaelic in western Inverness. Indeed, the critical years of the eighteenth century and the profound change wrought in Highland society during this time seem actually to have contributed to a flowering of Gaelic culture on a local level. Yet increasingly after 1800 the economic, social and legal developments of the previous sixty years would powerfully affect the survival of this culture. The dependence on outside ideas and initiatives already referred to tended to undermine the status of Gaelic since southern society was English and perceived Gaelic language and culture only as a handicap.

The serious impact of post-1745 economic and political change in western Inverness is evident in the radical alteration of Highland social structure. While the decay of traditional Gaelic society predated the last Jacobite Rebellion, the process was both intensified and given new direction by government policies and economic changes of the second half of the eighteenth century. The paternal leadership of the clan chief was undermined by the loss of heritable jurisdictions and in some cases of clan estates. Influence and authority over the lives of the people increasingly shifted away from the chief to government officials, clergymen,

teachers and local community leaders. At different times on various estates the role of the chief changed from being the father of his people and guardian of their land to being the commercially aggressive owner of improveable property. The tacksmen were squeezed out of their profitable middleman role and either became part of the new economic elite or fell into the ranks of the tenants. In their place were the prosperous graziers and traders who now stood between the chief and his clansmen. The tenants no longer had traditional guarantees of land and had lost or were threatened with the loss of their share of a farm. By 1800 the traditional social order had been destroyed in western Inverness, and society no longer possessed the wholeness and inter-dependence that had distinguished traditional Gaelic culture.

The economic and social change that occurred in western Inverness was neither sought nor carried out by the tenants, and their immediate reaction to it was to re-affirm traditional values. Many of the early schemes of improvement were successful only insofar as they could be adapted to traditional Gaelic objectives or practices. Thus the introduction of schools was easily accepted by a people who had always valued learning, and churches by men who were noted for their religious belief. Agricultural improvement on the Annexed Estates won slow acceptance, most often based on the extent to which it clearly contributed to the maintenance of the people on the land. The deep conservatism and vigorous traditional culture of Gaelic society strictly limited the success of mid-eighteenth century efforts to "civilize" the Highlands.

The sudden, large increases of rent and the stocking of sheep farms throughout western Inverness formed an immediate and serious

attack on traditional life. Rent increases were seen as the focus of that attack and they occurred in two phases. The first large increases were applied in the 1760s and 1770s and were the result of the commercialization of Highland agriculture; the only major estates excluded from such sharp rises were the Annexed Estates of Barisdale and Lochiel. Even steeper increases in rent followed the conversion of traditional cattle farms to sheep after 1780. Barisdale and Lochiel lost the protection of the Annexed Estates administrators when they were returned to their clan owners in 1784, after which date all the estates in western Inverness were vulnerable to the introduction of sheep farms, very large rent increases, and removals. The tenants responded to this devastating change with large-scale emigration to Canada at the end of the eighteenth century.

Chapter 6

Highland Emigration, 1763-1820

The emigration of western Inverness clansmen to Glengarry County occurred during the first fifty years of large-scale emigration from Scotland. The actual movement of people out of Scotland did not begin with the mass migrations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For hundreds of years the wandering Scot was a familiar figure across Europe; he travelled in search of education, to sell his merchandise, to gain employment, or even to satisfy "a mere restlessness which drove...[him] from place to place."¹ However, it was between the years 1763 and 1820 that a considerable number of Scots first emigrated to North America. Not often during this period did more than 2,000 people leave Scotland annually; even so, emigration on this scale had not been seen before and contemporary observers viewed it with concern.²

European emigration to North America has generally been characterized by a cyclical pattern of departures and this pattern was evident in Scottish emigration during the major departures of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Before 1763 relatively few Scots had gone to America and migration to the New World could be viewed as merely a new destination for venturesome individuals. Emigration from Scotland rose dramatically for the first time between 1763 and the start of the American Revolution in 1775.³ Emigration then dropped off almost completely during the war but resumed at an irregular rate until 1793 when war broke out with

1 Gordon Donaldson, The Scots Overseas, 23.

2 Michael Flinn, Scottish population, 92, 443.

3 Ian C.C. Graham, Colonists from Scotland, (Ithaca, N.Y., 1956), 188-89.

France. Only small parties of emigrants left Scotland during the war years before the peace of 1801, but the first three years of the nineteenth century brought such a flood of emigration that government regulation was introduced to control the flow. After 1804 the number of emigrants fell during the years of war and rose substantially again when peace came in 1815. Scottish emigration continued this pattern of rising and falling, albeit at increasingly higher levels, throughout the nineteenth century.

This cyclical pattern of emigration was also characteristic of the flow of emigrants to Glengarry County. The first emigrants to settle there were Loyalists who fled from New York during the American Revolution; these people had left the Highlands in the 1770s during the first upsurge of emigration. The emigrations from Knoydart, Eigg and Glenelg to Glengarry County occurred during the second upswing in emigration between 1784 and 1793. The third peak in emigration saw the arrival in the county of people from across western Inverness between 1801 and 1804. Finally the post-war 1815-16 emigration brought the last large group of settlers to Glengarry County. Each of these waves of emigration to Glengarry will be examined in detail, but a few observations should be made about Highland emigration in general.

The first half-century of large-scale emigration from Scotland, 1763 to 1820, may well have been dominated by departures from the Highlands. Although complete statistics for emigration during this period are not available, a recent study has suggested that a majority of people leaving Scotland during the early part of period were Highlanders. Certainly "a solid minority of Lowlands craftsmen and industrial workers" did take part in this trans-Atlantic move-

ment.⁴ But the figures that are available for 1768 to 1775 underline the importance of the Highland component of Scottish emigration: Ian Graham has calculated that 9,500 or sixty percent of the 16,000 Scottish emigrants left from the Highlands.⁵ Since the Highland region contained less than forty percent of the total Scottish population, it is evident that emigration was disproportionately high from the Highlands.⁶

The impact of this substantial emigration on Highland society was intensified by the way in which the emigration occurred. Typically, a large group of Highlanders left together from a single parish. Thus 200 left from Bracadale, Skye in 1788; 699 from Ardnarmurachan, Argyll in 1790-91; and 150 from Kilmorack, Inverness in 1801. The population of Scotland was growing rapidly during the late eighteenth century, and large emigrations such as these reduced, albeit temporarily and locally, the growing pressure on land and resources. Yet even the departure of four thousand people from Skye between 1769 and 1773, only provided a brief respite since that loss was made good by natural increase within a generation.⁷

4 Flinn, Scottish population, 453-54.

5 Graham, Colonists from Scotland, 188. A further 4,200 arrived in America from both the Highlands and Lowlands, with no record surviving of their departure. I have assumed that this number included the same percentage of Highlanders and Lowlanders, i.e. 60%: 40%. This estimate may actually underestimate the number of Highland emigrants for two reasons. First the 4200 Scots arriving in America were more likely to have been Highland since departures from the north were less accurately recorded. Secondly, passenger lists from the Clyde reveal a high number of Highland names, all of whom are included as Lowland departures; the reverse situation was unlikely to occur.

6 Flinn, Scottish population, 306. In 1801, the entire north of Scotland contained 33% of Scotland's population. Since this region had steadily been losing population to the south and overseas, it seems probable that Highlanders formed somewhat more of the total Scottish population in 1770.

7 O.S.A. of the parishes mentioned as quoted in Flinn, Scottish population, 445; also 249-50, 270. The 4000 emigrants from Skye equalled 20% of the island's population.

Emigration from the Highlands was nowhere better described than in the simile that Highlanders themselves created, a dance called the America Reel. The dance was popular in Skye during the 1770s and was described by Boswell in his Tour of the Hebrides:

we performed with much activity a dance which I suppose the emigration from Skye has occasioned. They call it 'America.' A brisk reel is played. The first couple begin, and each sets to one - then each to another -- then as they set to the next couple, the second and third couples are setting; and so it goes on till all are set-a-going, setting and wheeling round each other, while each is making the tour of all in the dance. It shows how emigration catches till all are set afloat.⁸

The infectious movement of the America Reel illustrates the pattern of emigration from the Highlands. Once a link with a new world settlement had been established, people followed kin and neighbours to form new Highland communities. As in the dance, each couple might attract two other couples to accompany them, and so on until large parts of a community were set in motion. This pattern, first evident in the large emigrations of 1763 to 1775, continued to characterize Highland emigration throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The snowball effect that emigration had on the Highlands is not surprising when both the nature of Gaelic society and the reasons for emigration are taken into account. In the intimate, kin-based society of the Highlands, the decision by an elder son or head of family to emigrate often resulted in the migration of siblings or of adult children, and their families. At the same time, or some years later, cousins and in-laws frequently chose to emigrate to keep

8 James Boswell, Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, F.A. Pottle & Charles H. Bennett, ed., (New York, 1936), 242-43.

family ties intact. Intense local loyalties also tended to produce group migrations. Daily life in a Gaelic community was supported by communal work and by participation in a pervasive, sophisticated culture. The emigration of a portion of the community, or of several of its social and cultural leaders made further migrations likely.

Allied to this desire to maintain family and community ties was the clansmen's intense commitment to traditional Gaelic culture. When demographic and economic changes pressed Highland society in the late eighteenth century, the course chosen by many Highlanders -- emigration -- was the option most in keeping with certain traditional values. The tacksman, faced with the loss of a position of high social status, emigrated to a new world full of opportunity, taking kin and neighbours with him. Tenants who were removed from their joint farms recognized that their families' right to land would be satisfied only in the new communities of America. The success of early emigrant groups in establishing Gaelic communities in Canada made subsequent emigration by Gaelic speakers even more attractive. A conservative attachment to the traditional right to land and to the community contributed to the chain-reaction emigration that was characteristic of the Highlands.

The late eighteenth century flood of emigration from the Highlands was one of the creative responses to the overwhelming social and economic change of that period. While such change did indeed pull traditional Gaelic society apart, it had a creative impact as well. The long isolation of the Highlands was largely mended in the eighteenth century, and its people were exposed to the ideas and practices of other cultures, in particular the Scots and English. The great tension that was engendered by change in the social and

economic order and by exposure to other cultures had some beneficial effects on the Highlands. The eighteenth century was a period of creativity in Gaelic literature: the writing of all the Highland poets, revealed "a new air" and a "new vigour."⁹ This outpouring of Gaelic poetry and the innovative styles associated with it were part of the Highlanders' attempt to understand and to shape the new society emerging around them.

The intellectual response to the changes and tensions of the eighteenth century was paral^elled by a practical response. The main attack of the forces that affected Highland society was on the notion of community and the people's right to land: exploitation of the land for the best commercial return destroyed the interdependent society of chief, tacksmen and clansmen. The attack on the Highland community was both economic and social: economic because commercial goals dictated the selling of farms or the raising of rents, and social because chiefs were anglicized and urbanized, and traditional communities were destroyed. The firm belief still held by the clansmen, that they, their families and neighbours possessed the land and would always gain their living from it, was powerfully shaken. Emigration was one response to this attack on the heart of traditional Gaelic life. In the following four chapters, emigration from western Inverness and adjacent areas to Glengarry County, Upper Canada, is examined in detail. Broadly similar patterns can be seen in the background and departure of each of the nine major emigrant groups that settled in the county. The enthusiasm with which these Highlanders chose to emigrate is not surprising: the radical, creative solution to the destruction of Gaelic communities in the late eighteenth century was communal emigration and settlement.

9 Thomson, Gaelic Poetry, 256-7. This creative response to change was particularly evident in the great poets, Alasdair MacMhaighistir Alasdair, Duncan Ban MacIntyre, Rob Donn and William Ross.

Chapter 7

The Loyalist Emigrants

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The first European settlement in Glengarry County was made by British Loyalist at the end of the American Revolutionary War. The Scots Loyalists from New York were given new lands in the unsettled western region of the province of Quebec, soon to become Upper Canada. The townships immediately to the west of the French settlement along the St. Lawrence River became the ultimate American home for many of the Highlanders who had emigrated to New York in the preceeding twenty years.

Most of the Highland Loyalists who settled Glengarry County came to America during the first period of substantial emigration from Scotland. This emigration began after the Seven Year's War as rents climbed sharply upwards and within ten years contemporary writers spoke with anxiety of "the present rage for emigration."¹ As discontent grew in the American colonies, government officials began to fear that emigration would further the spread of American principles and dry up the flow of recruits to Highland regiments. In 1773, customs officers were asked to supply information concerning previous years' emigration, and shortly afterwards to record in detail all further emigration. The outbreak of hostilities in America permitted the Scottish Board of Customs Commissioners to prohibit the sailing of emigrant ships in September 1775 and the alarming flood of emigration was halted for a time.²

1 Boswell, Tour to Hebrides, 132.

2 Flinn, Scottish population, 92. Also Graham, Colonists, 99-100.

During these years, emigration from across the Highlands had certain features in common. Departures occurred from each of the Highland counties, but the movement was especially heavy from particular communities or regions. A few parties left from Perthshire and a larger number from Argyll, Ross and Sutherland; the glens of Inverness provided a substantial body of emigrants, but the "sensational departures" came from the Hebrides, especially from Skye.³ The emigrants from each county often had distinct destinations in the New World. The people of Argyll, Ross, Sutherland and Skye went most frequently to the Cape Fear Valley in North Carolina and the Altamaha Valley in Georgia. Emigrants from Inverness favoured the Mohawk Valley and Upper Hudson River in New York, while Prince Edward Island attracted emigrants from South Uist and Barra, and Nova Scotia those from other Hebridean islands.⁴

Highland emigrants generally left the country in family groups, and large parties drawn from a single community were not uncommon. In 1773, customs inspectors in Fort William testified that "many Families have emigrated from the West and North Highlands."⁵ An emigrant group that left from Killin, Perthshire in 1775 was composed of thirty families, including a grandmother of eighty-three and a child of one month. Frequently such family groups were drawn together from a single estate or island: fifty people left Jura for North Carolina in 1767, while one hundred Lewismen sailed for Philadelphia in 1774. Similarly, Captain John Macdonald of Glenaladale brought 230 people from the Boisdale estate in South Uist to Prince Edward Island in 1772. The most spectacular example of the emigra-

3 Adam, "Emigration of 1770," 281.

4 Graham, *Colonists*, 50, 106.

5 PRO T1/499, Copy of Letter from Colin Campbell & Duncan McPhaill to Wm. Nelthorpe, 13 Dec 1773.

tion of a large part of a single community occurred in Skye. There twenty percent of the population emigrated between 1769 and 1773 and one estate, that of Macdonald of Sleat, was so seriously depopulated that Macdonald was forced to import tenants from elsewhere.⁶

It was not the very poor or people of the lowest social class who made up these emigrant parties. Prominent among the emigrants, although not the most significant in numerical terms, were the tacksmen; their participation in this emigration has been emphasized by modern historians. The best-known of the tacksmen emigration was that led by the Macdonalds of Skye, but other west Highland tacksmen also emigrated at this time.⁷ Such men were very well off by Highland standards: Captain Alexander MacLeod of Glendale took £86 worth of household furnishings, 324 books and twelve servants with him to North Carolina in 1774. Clearly the tacksmen possessed the larger part of the £24,000 reputedly taken from Bracadale, Skye to America between 1771 to 1790.⁸

However, it was the tenants, either in self-organized groups or in parties led by tacksmen, who made the decision to emigrate in the largest number. No reliable statistics exist to analyse the status of the emigrants, but the twin facts of their relative prosperity and the limited number of gentlemen among them suggest that the emigrants came chiefly from the tenant class. Literary evidence shows that tenants were included in emigrant parties leaving from all of the

6 Graham, Colonists, 70, 75-7, 95.

7 Adam, "Emigration of 1770," 280-93. The names of other tacksmen led emigrations are hard to find. The Glengarry tacksmen who went to New York are the other obvious example; Macdonald of Glenaladale led people who had not been his tenants. Some of the MacLeod tacksmen did lead emigrant groups: I.F. Grant, The MacLeods, (London, 1959), 576. Many tacksmen went to districts in which they had served as military officers, bringing small groups of clansmen with them.

8 Grant, The MacLeods, 576. Also O.S.A., Bracadale, vol. 4, 130.

Highland counties.⁹ Typical of a small band of emigrants emigrating from a single parish were the substantial farmers from Glenshiel, who sailed for North Carolina in 1769 and 1772 with their families and connections.¹⁰ Tenants in Skye, when given the opportunity of joining the tacksmen in emigrating, "were engaging with ye subscribers as fast as they could wish."¹¹ Suddenly, Highlanders who for centuries had been noted for an intense attachment to their homeland left in large numbers for the New World. This tremendous enthusiasm for emigration was one of the most striking characteristics of both tenant and tacksmen departures; emigration was not just the slow leaking of a redundant population but rather the eagerly embraced choice of both groups.

The sharp increase of rents that marked the commercialisation of Highland agriculture in the 1760s and 1770s was the event which triggered this great burst of emigration from the Highlands. In Skye, Glengarry and Glenmoriston, all areas from which there was heavy emigration between 1765 and 1775, rents more than doubled.¹² The connection between greatly increased rents and emigration was widely recognized. William Morison, who surveyed the Annexed Estates in 1771-2, pointed out that "to lay all at once a very high augmentation on the tenants [sic]" would be most unwise. The impropriety of such an action had already been "too fatally experienced in the neighbourhood in many other parts of the highlands; by dispiriting the people, tempt them to grow desperate in their own country or emigrate to

9 Graham, Colonists, 23, 65-6.

10 O.S.A., Glenshiel, vol. 7, (1793), 131-2.

11 Grant, The MacLeods, 552.

12 Graham, Colonists, 64. Grant, The MacLeods, 556-7. SRO GD44/25/30. Boswell, Tour to Hebrides, 104.

America." Evidently his advice was followed, since rents on Lochiel and Barisdale rose by only 45 and 21 percent; virtually no emigration was reported from these estates during the years of annexation.¹³

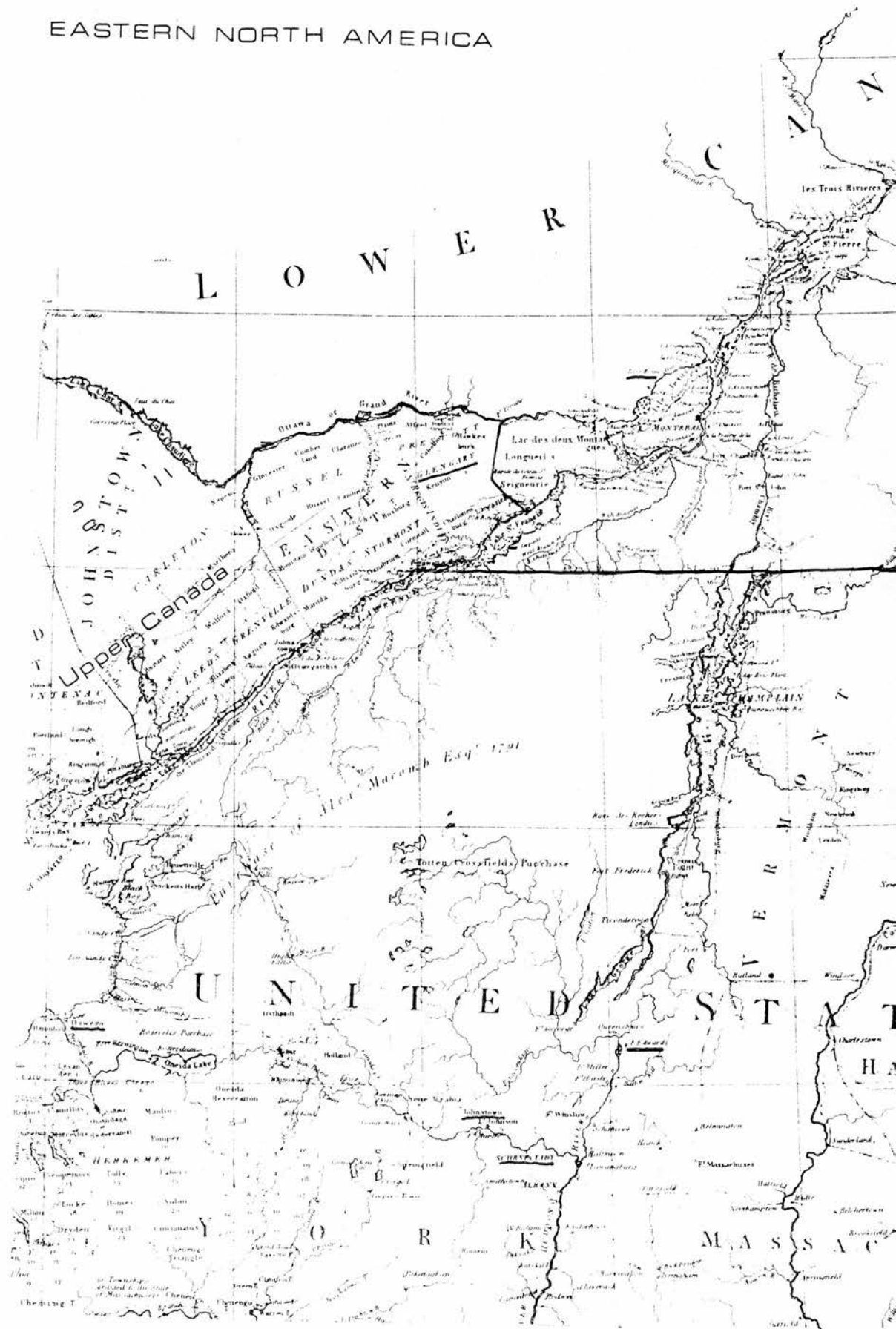
The increased rents were a real burden for the tenants, but they had a psychological effect as well. Evidence from the MacLeod, Cameron and Macdonell of Glengarry estates indicates that moderate rent increases were often accepted. On the other hand, sudden, very large increases were very difficult to pay; they revealed the values newly espoused by the landlords and brought home the nature of the new commercial society in the Highlands. One after another clan chiefs made it evident that paying a large rent, and not kinship, was to be the basis of landlord-tenant relations. Both tacksmen and clansmen were threatened with economic loss and, more importantly, the destruction of traditional social values and relationships. Increased rents alone do not provide an explanation for the sudden, enthusiastic emigration of a people noted for their attachment to the land. The size of the emigration and the manner of the Highlanders' departure in family groups and communities suggests that the desire for land and a continuing commitment to community life were an essential part of the clansmen's motivation for leaving Scotland.

(ii)

The province of New York was the original destination of a majority of the first Glengarry County settlers. Northern New York had only become attractive to emigrants after the conquest of Canada and its cession to Britain in 1763 ended the bloody struggle between

13 SRO RH2/8/26, 13. Also see chapter 5, section (v).

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French and English for the land south of the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River. Veterans of the war were offered land in America and many officers and men of Highland regiments accepted that offer. The upper Hudson valley was familiar to the Highlanders from the days of war and the area was attractive for settlement when freed from the threat of invasion. Most of the military settlers were enlisted men from Montgomery's Highlanders who took up land near Fort Edward. On a different social scale were lieutenants Hugh Fraser and James Macdonald both of whom acquired large grants of land on which they intended to locate Scottish emigrants.¹⁴ Small concentrations of Highlanders such as these were sufficient to make upper New York a focal point for Highland emigration by 1770.

The central group among the Glengarry County loyalists from New York was the party of emigrants led by the Glengarry Macdonells. This group was among the 425 emigrants -- 125 men, 100 women and 200 children -- who left Fort William for New York in September 1773. Like the great migrations from Skye of the same period this was led by tacksmen, of the Glengarry estate. Three brothers, John of Leek, Allan of Collachie, and Alexander of Aberchalder, and their cousin, John Macdonell of Scotus, headed the 1773 party, accompanied by one or two other gentlemen. The great majority of emigrant families, however, were simple clansmen who also made the decision to emigrate.¹⁵ Few of these emigrants were cottars or poor sub-tenants; rather it is clear from the prosperity of the emigrant party, which reportedly took £5000 to America, that most were tenants from the middle level

14 Graham, Colonists, 47-9.

15 PRO T1/499, Copy of letter, 13 Dec 1773.

of Highland society.¹⁶ In later years, the Macdonell emigrants were the key element of the loyalist settlement in Glengarry County.

The immediate cause of the Macdonell emigration was the large increase in the estate rents. In a previous chapter, the changing relationship between the Glengarry chief and the Macdonell gentlemen was explored, and Duncan McDonell's attempts to increase his income from the estate between 1768 and 1772 discussed. McDonell's repayment of the wadsetts provided the gentlemen with a capital sum, but inflation had eroded the value of their loans and their economic prospects as tenant farmers were not good. The loss faced by the Macdonell gentlemen was social as well as economic. Over five generations the Glengarry chiefs had been able to provide younger sons with tacks on the estate. These men and their descendants, related to one another in degrees varying from brother to fifth cousin, formed a miniature aristocracy on the Glengarry estate. During the fifty years after 1721, the gentlemen played an important part in leading the clan and at the same time bettered their own economic standing at the expense of both clansmen and chief. The changes proposed by Duncan McDonell in 1772 drew in the economic slack which his predecessors had allowed in the running of the estate and signalled the introduction of commercial, rather than paternalistic, management. The gentlemen were faced not merely with the loss of favourable leases, but also with a new landlord-tenant relationship which ignored their traditional status in the community.

The three Macdonell brothers who led the emigration to New York in 1773 were fourth cousins to the chief, less closely related to

16 Adam, "Emigration of 1770", 283. Adam states that 425 people sailed from Maryburgh in 1773 with £6000. In PRO T1/499, 13 Dec 1773, the customs officers comment that the Glengarry emigrants were the only group to leave Fort William in 1773.

him than many other Macdonell gentlemen. The Knoydart gentlemen, including an uncle and second cousins of the chief, had given up their wadsetts and tacks a few years prior to 1772 and had accepted leases on their old farms at higher rents. Even so, the Duke of Gordon's agent, Andrew MacPherson, pointed out wryly that "no Attachment can totally divest People of self Interest, and that the farms, as laid out by them would be still too great a Pennyworth."¹⁷ Thus it is not surprising that only one Knoydart wadsetter, Spanish John Macdonell, emigrated in 1773. Despite the advantageous agreement reached by the Knoydart gentlemen, Spanish John's small holding of Croulin offered very modest prospects for the future. The commercial agriculture developing in the Highlands had little allure for a man raised as a soldier or a gentleman farmer, so the opportunity of emigrating in 1773 was attractive to Spanish John. "At last my disposition given rather to roving, induced me to leave my native soil and come to this great continent of America."¹⁸

The four Macdonell gentlemen headed a party of some 300 emigrants when the ship Pearl left Fort William in 1773. Perhaps fifty of these people were members of the gentlemen's immediate families or their servants; the remaining 250 emigrants were ordinary clansmen drawn from the region about the Great Glen.¹⁹ Close to half of the emigrants were Macdonells or associated families such as McMillans, McDougalls, McIntoshes, McGillises and Kennedys who lived in Glen-garry. A substantial body of the emigrants came from neighbouring

17 SRO GD44/25/28, Assessment. That is to say the farms were worth more than what they were actually rented for.

18 Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository, vol. IV (1825), 399.

19 There were eight in Aberchalder's family, seven in Collachie's, ten in Leek's, and six in Scotus'. Collachie had seven indentured servants and Aberchalder five. PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 226-7, 289-90.

Glenmoriston: these were the seven Cameron, five Grant, two Chisholm and four Macdonell families. Others in the Macdonell party were gathered from further north and included the Mackay, Rose, Fraser, Sutherland, McLeod and McLennan families.²⁰

Although the emigrants were by no means all from one estate, many sailed from Scotland in the company of relatives and friends. Illustrative of the kinship among the emigrants were the ties of the McMartin family from Letterfinlay on Loch Lochy. Two brothers, Malcolm and John, and Malcolm's married son of the same name were members of the 1773 party. New family ties were soon created among the emigrants: the marriage in 1778 of John McMartin and Ellen Cameron, a daughter of one of the Glenmoriston families, was such a link. Many of the Pearl emigrants shared Jacobite sympathies and had suffered equally from the plundering and burning of Cumberland's troops after 1746. The inhabitants of Glengarry and Glenmoriston were prominent supporters of the Jacobite cause, and several of the emigrants had been intimately involved with the 1745/46 campaign and its aftermath.²¹ Previously alienated from the Whig government, the Jacobite tenants were not in the best position to benefit from the economic and social change that swept the Highlands after 1750. The emigrants led by the Macdonell tacksmen were joined by bonds, not just of kinship, but also of friendship and community.

20 PAC MG14 A.O.12/28-31, Highland claimants from New York settled in New Johnston or River Raisin.

21 Rhodes Grant, The Story of Martintown, (1974), 8-9, 122. Spanish John carried gold from Europe to Scotland to bankroll the Jacobite army; after the money was stolen, he was captured and imprisoned for nine months. Alexander of Aberchalder was an aide-de-camp to Prince Charles. The father of the two Chisholm emigrants were among the Seven Good Men of Glenmoriston. Big John Grant, who accompanied his son Angus in 1773, had served fourteen years in Barbadoes for his part in the Uprising.

The modest means of the 1773 emigrants was evident in the claims submitted for property lost in New York during the American Revolution. The most substantial claims were those of the gentlemen, Spanish John, Allan of Collachie, and Alexander of Aberchalder, for sums of £909, £543, and £255 respectively.²² Spanish John's claim seems rather inflated, but Aberchalder and Collachie may have left Scotland with a sum approaching the value of their claims. The other emigrants submitted claims that ranged from £24 to £130.²³ These figures overstate the resources of the Highland emigrants on arrival in America since the claims included compensation for land, which was largely rented, and improvements and crops, which were products of the emigrants' labour rather than their pocket-books. A sum equal to one half each loyalist claim might therefore more nearly describe the financial resources of the ordinary emigrant family in 1773. Small as this figure might seem, it nonetheless represented modest wealth in the Highlands at that time, and is a clear indication that the emigrants had been men of some standing in the local community.

The clansmen freely decided to accompany the Macdonell gentlemen. The customs inspectors at Fort William pointed out that "there were no unfair inducements held out, or any undue Means used to engage these People to leave their native Country; but all were free Adventurers going to push their Fortunes abroad." Part of their reason for leaving was economic:

the Proprietors they said raised the Lands
higher in Rent than they could afford to
pay, and others who had not that Cause to

- 22 PAC MG14 A.O. 12/27, 270-2, Spanish John. *Ibid.*, A.O. 13/81, 226-7, Collachie. *Ibid.*, A.O.13/81, 289-90, Aberchalder. John of Leek died c.1782 and no claim on his behalf was found.
- 23 PAC MG14 A.O.12/29, 101-2 for £24, and PAC MG14 A.O.12/27, 209-10.

alledge as to themselves said that Country was too populous, and that they were well informed Lands were to be had in America at an easy quit Rent. That it was a cheap Country where they would have more room, and could support their Families with more Comfort and ease than their native Country.²⁴

Although greatly increased rents were a hardship, it was still possible to make a living as a tenant farmer: in 1771 a Glenmoriston farmer named McQueen told Boswell he would emigrate, but he in fact stayed on his farm and paid the quadrupled rent for ten more years. When McQueen did leave, it was only to a neighbouring farm.²⁵ Emigration did not occur merely in response to economic pressure, but was an affirmation of certain traditional values and a rejection of the new Highland society and the role the tenants had been assigned in it. The Glengarry and Glenmoriston clansmen's enthusiastic departure as "free Adventurers" and their emigration and settlement as a group was an indication of their self-confidence and of their continuing attachment to their Gaelic community.

(iii)

After a six weeks' passage, the 280 emigrants led by the Macdonell gentlemen arrived in New York in mid-October 1773 and proceeded up the Hudson River to Albany, in the vicinity of which they spent the winter.²⁶ To the west of Albany are the Mohawk Valley and the hilly uplands of the Susquehannah and Delaware rivers. These lands had been purchased from the Indians only in 1768, but speculators and colonizers had quickly acquired large grants from the Crown; they were now eager to find tenants. Allan Macdonell of Col-lachie and his brothers visited Sir William Johnson, the largest

24 PRO T1/499, 13 Dec 1773.

25 Boswell, Tour to Hebrides, 104.

26 Hazel C. Mathews, The Mark of Honour, (Toronto, 1965), 5.

property-holder in upper New York, in early November.²⁷ From the baronet the gentlemen obtained information about the lands available in the district, the quality of the soil, the ease of access and transportation, and provision for mills. Meanwhile four of the emigrants visited the grants of other proprietors in the neighbourhood of the Susquehannah and returned to Albany with the "Most flattering encouragement."²⁸

In the spring of 1774, the great majority of the Macdonell emigrants settled on Sir William Johnson's Kingsborough Patent. This 50,000 acre estate, also known as Johnson's Bush, lay on the north shore of the Mohawk river, centered on the village of Johnstown. The forty Highland families who settled there in 1774 rented land from Sir William: the clansmen 50 or 100 acres, and the gentlemen 200. Until the emigrants established their farms, they were to pay no rent; after that time rent was fixed at £6 per hundred acres. Macdonell of Collachie was apparently successful in obtaining a year's maintenance and a cow for each family since Sir William described the settlers as "a verry burthen."²⁹ Such assistance was given as an advance, however, and was ultimately to be repaid by the settlers.

Several groups of the 1773 emigrants took up land apart from the settlement in Johnson's Bush. Most prominent among these was Spanish

27 Despite exhaustive investigation the reason for the emigrants' choice of New York and in particular of Johnson's lands has not been discovered. Popular tradition suggests Sir William asked the Macdonells to settle on his estate, without explaining why this was the case; no documentary evidence has been found to back up this contention. It is possible that the link with Johnson was forged during the New York campaign of the Seven Years' War. Many Highlanders, including perhaps a Macdonell, served as officers; the knowledge both of the country and of Sir William gained then may have later influenced their choice of destination.

28 Sir William Johnson Papers, vol. VIII (Albany, New York), 916-7.

29 Sir William Johnson Papers, vol. XII, 1111-12.

John Macdonell who settled with three other Scottish families on a separate property owned by Sir William in the Charlotte river valley, fifty miles south of Johnson's Bush. Spanish John purchased 400 acres and was given another 90, but the men who accompanied him rented adjacent farms from the baronet.³⁰ Some families may have followed the example of one John Cameron, who leased a farm in Kortwright's Patent, and was to buy a further 200 acres on the Delaware river. The neighbouring valleys of the upper Delaware and the Charlotte, a tributary of the Susquehannah, thus became a second center of Highland settlement. Only a few of the 1773 emigrants seem to have gone north almost at once to Canada, and these sought land near St. John's, Quebec.³¹

The settlement of most of the emigrants in Johnson's Bush in a "compact" body was the result of a conscious effort by both gentlemen and clansmen to keep, as one of them expressed it, "as close and united as possible."³² Allan Macdonell pointed out to Sir William that he and his brothers had "some influence over people," and clearly the gentlemen expected to occupy positions of influence as a result of the group settlement. Nonetheless, the three brothers did sacrifice self-interest to a certain degree since they gave up the opportunity of buying their own land. Instead they took "pro tempore a small tract of land from Sir John Johnson at a certain Stipulated rate to be annually paid" so as to settle as one group among the clansmen.³³ Collachie's interests were not permanently tied to the

30 PAC MG14 A.O.12/27, 270-2. Also Sir William Johnson's Papers, vol. XII, 1111-12. For those who accompanied Spanish John, see Mathews, Mark of Honour, Appendix A, Roderick Macdonell; also PAC MG14 A.O.13/14, Alexander Macdonell's claim, 91.

31 PAC MG14 A.O.12/27, 209-10. For those who went to Quebec, see Sir William Johnson's Papers, vol. XII, 1111-12.

32 PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 226-7.

33 Ibid. Sir John was Sir William's eldest son and heir, and was named here in mistake for his father.

emigrant party, since he arranged with Sir William for the gentlemen to have the option of selling out and receiving compensation for their improvements.

The decision by most of the Macdonell emigrants to settle in Johnson's Bush may have been influenced by the presence there of other Highland families. Seventeen Scottish families had arrived in Albany six months before the Pearl emigrants, and had taken up farms on Johnson's estate in June 1773.³⁴ After the settlement of the Macdonell emigrants, Johnson's Bush possessed a decidedly Highland character which made it an attractive destination for future emigrants. There are records of at least seven families (three Macdonells, two Grants, a Murcheson and a McGillis) who emigrated in 1774 and settled with the Pearl emigrants in Johnson's Bush. The Presbyterian minister of Albany, Harry Munro, also sent a Daniel Urquhart up the Mohawk to Sir William, since Urquhart "wd fain Settle with his Countrymen, on Your Estate."³⁵ The establishment of such a compact Scottish community was an indication of the Highlanders' interest in maintaining their own cultural traditions among the German, Dutch, and English communities on the Mohawk. Differences of clan, glen or religion might lead to the formation of distinct settlements, like those on the Charlotte and Delaware, but the communities together formed a small Highland colony in the Mohawk region.

The Scottish emigrants who settled in upper New York expected the new Highland community to grow rapidly. Contemporary letters

34 Sir William Johnson's Papers, vol. XII, 1023-4; vol. VIII, 816.

35 The 1774 emigrants are mentioned in PAC MG14 A.O.12/28, Rod. Macdonell, 403-4; A.O.12/27, John McDonell, 206-7; A.O.12/29, John McDonell, 238-9; A.O.12/29, Arch. Grant, 77; A.O.12/29, Peter Grant, 96; A.O.12/29, Don. McGillis, 90; A.O.12/29, Duncan Murcheson, 65-6. For Urquhart, see Sir William Johnson's Papers, vol. VII, 1026.

commonly referred to the willingness of "large Bodies of their Nation ...to come over to America." Harry Munro pointed out to Sir William Johnson that "the lower Class of people are generally discontented, and the Spirit of Emigration prevails greatly." Munro believed that "Some hundreds of families" would soon follow the Highlanders who settled on Sir William's estate in June 1773.³⁶ The Macdonell gentlemen also expected to be joined by other Highland emigrants:

It would be agreeable to us that there be room or Scouth in our Vicinity in order that such of our friends & Countrymen as will incline to follow our fate may sit down in our Neighbourhood we have reason to hope that severals of them will appear on this Continent if fortune does not frown upon us & force us to lay an Interdict on their Intentions.³⁷

This broad interest in emigration was the result of the Glengarry clansmen's dislike for the practice of commercial agriculture in their native glen; the formation of compact settlements in the New World might satisfy their aspirations for land at a reasonable price and preserve substantially intact traditional communities. But the events of 1775 did lay an interdict on further emigration from Scotland, and the small Highland communities of the Mohawk district soon became the site of one of the bloodiest battlefields of the Revolutionary War.

(iv)

As the Macdonell emigrants settled into their new homes, relations between the American colonists and the British government deteriorated rapidly. Quarrels over proposals to tax the Colonies in

36 Sir William Johnson's Papers, vol. XII, 1023-4; PAC Reel B-3808, 15-6, 2 November 1773, Letter from Governor Tryon to Lord Dartmouth.

37 Sir William Johnson's Papers, vol. VIII, 917.

the late 1760s had steadily deepened the rift between the British government and the American settlers. Committees of correspondence were set up in most Massachusetts towns in 1772 to co-ordinate and defend the patriots' cause and this network spread to another twelve of the American colonies in the following year. The celebrated Boston "Tea Party" of December 1773, a protest against the tax of tea, provoked stern legislative reaction from the British government in the spring of 1774.³⁸ In response to these Acts and the appointment of General Gage as military governor of Massachusetts, the committees of correspondence convened the first Continental Congress in September 1774. Congress was dominated by militants who demanded the repeal of all objectionable legislation passed by Parliament since 1763. Both sides began preparations for war and fighting started at Lexington, Massachusetts on April 19, 1775.³⁹

In the Mohawk Valley where the Macdonells were concentrated, those loyal to the British government were led by Sir John Johnson. Sir John had inherited Sir William Johnson's property at his father's death early in July 1774. Sir John and his brothers-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus, led opposition to the measures taken by the patriots and were solidly supported by their tenants and by some prominent local land-owners, including one John Butler. The Macdonell emigrants had been assisted by the Johnsons, and neither the gentlemen nor clansmen had much sympathy with the grievances or actions of the patriots. When revolt was openly declared, the Highlanders naturally stood together as a community and adopted the cause of King George as a single body.

38 John Harkness, Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 25-31.

39 Encyclopedia Americana, vol. 1 (New York, 1972), 718.

The first large-scale support for the Massachusetts patriots in the Mohawk valley came at a meeting held in a German settlement west of Johnson's Bush on 27 August 1774.⁴⁰ The meeting expressed its allegiance to King George, but decried the recent acts of Parliament and the imposition of unjust taxes. The people of the western Mohawk valley, or Palatine district, established a Committee of Correspondence and other districts in Tryon County, including Canajoharie south of the Mohawk river, followed their example. The Mohawk patriots supported the Continental Congress, but it was the first battle at Lexington that finally split the valley into two warring camps. When patriotic sympathizers attempted to celebrate the victory by raising the first "Liberty Pole" in the county, they were frustrated by the arrival of the Johnsons, John Butler, Daniel Claus and "a number of Highlanders" who dispersed the crowd.⁴¹

The Highlanders, as Alexander of Aberchalder observed, had "remained peaceably on their Farms without any interruption" until this incident occurred.⁴² But by the spring of 1775 those loyal to King George found it necessary to express their opposition to the revolutionary committees active in the Mohawk valley. The patriots of the Palatine reported bitterly to the Albany Committee of the influence and power of the Johnson family in the valley; the different branches of the Johnson family were:

still strenuous in dissuading people from coming into congressional measures, and even have last week, at a numerous meeting of the Mohawk district, appeared with all their dependents armed to oppose the people considering of their grievances; their number being so large, and

40 William Campbell, Annals of Tryon County, (New York, 1831), 30.

41 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 32-3.

42 PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 289-90, Memorial of Alex. McDonell, 14 May 1788.

the people unarmed, struck terror into most of them, and they dispersed.⁴³

The Loyalists of Tryon County were strong enough at this time to sign and circulate a declaration of their opposition to the actions of Congress. In spite of "warm altercations and debates," the loyal statement was signed "by most of the Grand Jury and nearly all the Magistrates" of the county.

The Highland emigrants played an important role in the growing resistance to the revolution in the Mohawk valley. The number of men available to Sir John had roughly doubled since the arrival of the Scots. Their leaders, the Macdonell gentlemen, particularly Spanish John, were seasoned soldiers and accustomed to military command. The Highlanders may actually have had a greater military value than their numbers warranted since the American patriots seem to have had a special dread of the Highland Loyalists. The Roman Catholicism of the Macdonells and the fierce, martial traditions of the clans clearly intimidated the Palatine District Committee. These German farmers complained that in addition to Guy Johnson's militia regiment, "we are told that about 150 Highlanders (Roman Catholics) in and about Johnstown are armed and ready to march."⁴⁴ The Highlanders' perspective on the events of 1775 was somewhat different:

the Country being then in a ferment, and conceiving a Jealousy against your Memorialist [Aberchaldier] and the new Settlers, on account of their attachment to Government, and their connection with Sir John Johnson did in consequence thereof frequently threaten them and actually... came at different times in large bodies either to make them Prisoners or to compel them to submit to their own terms;-that they thought it prudent after this to take up Arms, and put themselves under the Command of Sir John Johnson.⁴⁵

43 Campbell, Annals of Tryon County, 33-5.

44 Campbell, Annals of Tryon County, 35.

45 PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 289-90.

At the end of 1775, the political situation in the Mohawk valley was deadlocked: though somewhat outnumbered, the Loyalists under Sir John Johnson had managed to maintain both their principles and their property when threatened only by their patriotic neighbours.

The freedom of a large body of men hostile to the patriots was an anomaly which Sir John Johnson's family prestige and the military strength of his tenants could preserve only in the short term. On December 30th, 1775, Congress ordered General Schuyler to disarm the Loyalists of Tryon County and apprehend their leaders.⁴⁶ As Alexander of Aberchalder pointed out, Congress took this action "to oppose a Confederacy which they supposed to be dangerous to their Interests."⁴⁷ General Schuyler camped near Johnstown on January 16th, 1776 with a force of 3,000 men, including 900 local militia volunteers. Sir John and some of the "Scotch tenants" met with Schuyler and the baronet surrendered certain arms on January 20th. What was more important to the patriots was the arrival at Schuyler's camp on January 21st of between "two and three hundred" Highlanders who "marched to the front and ground their arms which were immediately secured." The general still did not rest easy about the Highlanders as he wrote the next day complaining "that many of the Scotch had broadswords and dirks which had not been delivered up, either from inattention or wilfull omission." No action, however, seems to have followed that complaint. It is interesting to note that of the six hostages taken for the Loyalists' good behaviour, all were Highlanders.⁴⁸

46 Thomas Jones, History of New York, (New York, 1879), 578.

47 PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 289-90.

48 Jones, History of New York, 580-2. Old Highland practices of hiding weapons when asked to surrender them easily crossed the Atlantic. The hostages were Allan of Collachie, his brother Alexander of Aberchalder, and four of the former's nephews (PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 226-7, Memorial of Allan McDonell, 13 March 1786.

In spite of these events, and the parole given to Sir John Johnson, relations between Loyalists and patriots remained hostile and suspicious. The Johnson family had long been associated with the Six Nations tribes, the Iroquois confederacy, and since the Indians had allied themselves with the British and fled to Canada in 1775, Mohawk valley patriots viewed the arrival of any Indians at Johnstown as a warning of attack on patriot settlements.⁴⁹ When the British army evacuated Boston in March 1776, the patriots were encouraged by their victory to strong measures elsewhere. General Schuyler sent troops under Colonel Dayton to Johnstown ostensibly to remove the Highlanders, but in fact with orders to release Sir John from his parole and immediately arrest him. The general wrote to Sir John of his intention to remove the Scots, claiming that "the elder McDonald had desired to have all the clan of his name in County of Tryon removed and subsisted." Johnson consulted the Highlanders and as they "unanimously resolved not to deliver themselves as prisoners, but to go another way", the baronet decided to accompany them.⁵⁰ When Colonel Dayton arrived at Johnstown on May 19th, he found that his quarry had fled. Evidently the patriots were serious in their intention to remove the Highlanders for the Albany Committee of Safety remarked after Dayton's abortive sortie: "if the Said Male inhabitants have Escaped the Vigilance of Col dayton, that the Removal of the female old and infirm will be attended with unnecessary Expense."⁵¹

49 Sir William Johnson was superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1755 until his death in 1774; he was succeeded by his nephew, Guy Johnson.

50 Jones, History of New York, 585-7.

51 James Sullivan, Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, vol. 1 (Albany, 1923), 410. Clearly the Americans at least contemplated placing Highlanders and their dependents in concentration camps.

The Highlanders who fled north through the wilderness with Sir John were not the first party of Scottish refugees to reach Canada from the Mohawk. In May 1775 after the battle of Lexington, Guy Johnson had led the Indians of the Six Nations to Canada, accompanied by John Macdonell, eldest son of Aberchalder, and "thirty armed Highlanders."⁵² Sir John Johnson's party of 170 men, roughly half of whom were Scottish, reached the St. Lawrence in June 1776 "almost starved and wore out for want of provisions."⁵³ A third body of Highlanders arrived in Montreal on May 10, 1777 led by Allan of Collachie and Alexander of Aberchalder. These two gentlemen and the latter's son Hugh had escaped confinement in Pennsylvannia and returned to Johnstown where they collected "the scatter'd remains of the Loyalists left after Sir John Johnson's departure which his sudden removal and the shortness of their notice prevented from joining."⁵⁴ The party they led included forty-five Highlanders, who offered to serve as soldiers, only on the basis that they would not be separated from their Scottish leaders. Political loyalties notwithstanding, these refugee clansmen would "Serve During the warr But are So Attached to their Chiefs that they Cant Think of Parting with Them."⁵⁵ Even during the hectic days of war, the Highland emigrants made political and military decisions as a community and were determined to follow their traditional leaders.

(v)

In Canada most of the able-bodied men joined the British and Loyalist regiments in compact groups of kin, friends and refugees.

52 PAC MG21 B213, 47-50, Memorial of John Macdonell, 14 Dec 1779.

53 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 38.

54 PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 289-90.

55 PAC MG21 B158, 34, Letter from Major Gray to Carleton, 12 May 1777.

Some of the Mohawk emigrants served in the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, raised in 1775 by Allan McLean among the Highland settlers of Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Quebec. John, son of Aberchalder, and Allan of Collachie both held commissions in the 84th.⁵⁶ Sir John Johnson was authorized to raise a Loyalist corps, known as the King's Royal Regiment of New York (KRRNY), in June 1776 shortly after his arrival in Montreal. Most of the Mohawk Highlanders who took up arms during the war fought with this regiment. Its officers included Spanish John and his son Miles, Alexander of Aberchalder and his son Hugh, and John of Leek's sons Archibald, Allan and Ranald. A few Highlanders served in Butler's Rangers, including the Aberchalder brothers, John (who exchanged from the 84th) and Chichester, and Alexander, son of Collachie.⁵⁷

While the Loyalists of Johnson's Bush were forced in 1776, first to give hostages and then to flee, the settlers at the head of the Delaware fifty miles south were merely kept under observation that year. Spanish John took an active role in organizing Loyalist resistance and was considered the leader of that "nest of Scottish Toryism" in the Kortwright and Banyar Patents. During 1776, the Delaware Loyalists formed a militia company under the direction of Spanish John and convinced those who would not enlist to sign an oath of neutrality.⁵⁸ As patriot leader John Harper reported, "the peopell of Hapnersfield onfortunately fell into the Hands of McDonald, who amediately Swor them not to take up arms against the King of Britain."⁵⁹

56 John was an ensign and lieutenant in the 1st Battalion, while Allan served as a captain in the 2nd Battalion.

57 PAC MG21 B105A, 394, Officers, 30 Nov 1783.

58 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 39.

59 Public Papers of George Clinton, vol. II (Albany, 1900), 238.

By May of 1777, however, the patriots were strong enough to seize the property of prominent Loyalists.⁶⁰

The summer of 1777 brought a two-pronged invasion of New York by the British, intended to cut off New York from rebellious New England. While Burgoyne marched south via Lake Champlain and the Hudson to ultimate surrender at Saratoga, a second force under General St. Leger swung west to Lake Ontario and then south to the Mohawk. St. Leger commanded 2,000 men including Sir John Johnson's Regiment and Joseph Brant and his Mohawk Indians. On August 3rd, St. Leger lay siege to Fort Stanwix on the upper Mohawk, and three days later ambushed an enemy force sent to lift the siege. Loyalist losses were light but some 400 patriots were killed at the Battle of Oriskany; it was "perhaps the bloodiest [battle] of the Revolution," and was fought by brothers and neighbours.⁶¹ A second relief expedition, however, was sent by the patriots, forcing St. Leger to abandon the siege on August 22.

In conjunction with the British attack that summer, Loyalists still resident in New York were called on to join the flag. Spanish John was one of the prominent Loyalists summoned to Oswego in July to confer with Sir John Johnson before St. Leger's invasion. Macdonell returned to the Delaware settlements where he "accordingly raised, and armed fifty-four men;" led by the war music of the bagpipes, Spanish John's party marched north to Schoharrie to join forces with other Loyalists.⁶² The patriots sent a company of Light Horse against the Loyalist force, but these were ambushed and turned back at the

60 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 40.

61 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 42-4.

62 PAC MG21 B162, 135-6, Capt. John McDonell to Major Mathews, 12 Dec 1783.

battle of The Flockey on August 13th. Macdonell then led some of the victorious Loyalists west to join St. Leger and finally to Canada.⁶³

The war that was fought by Loyalists and patriots over the next five years in the Mohawk valley was chiefly a guerilla war and was characterized by a series of devastating raids. The summer and autumn of 1778 saw the Loyalists destroy seven separate settlements in raids that included the infamous massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley. The latter raid was the Indians' incensed response to the destruction of their own town of Oquaga.⁶⁴ This pattern of retaliatory raids continued through the war years with buildings burned, cattle and horses driven off, and crops destroyed by both sides. While the military results of this type of warfare are difficult to assess, it seems clear that neither side was able to dominate the Mohawk valley.⁶⁴ Though the Loyalists' families suffered a great deal, so did the patriots'. In April 1780, the entire population of Tryon County was reported to be close to starvation. In October yet another raid by the Loyalists resulted in the destruction of Schoharrie, part of Ballstown, and farms on both sides of the Mohawk from Fort Hunter to Fort Rensselaer; 150,000 bushels of wheat and a proportionate amount of grain and forage were lost, as well as 200 dwellings. Patriot Governor Clinton admitted that Schenectady (located near the mouth of the Mohawk) "may now be said to have become the limits of our western Frontier."⁶⁵

The Highland Loyalists lived in America only a few years before the outbreak of war, but they soon showed a not surprising aptitude

63 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 42-4.

64 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 51, 57, 59.

65 Clinton Papers, vol. V (1901), 628-32; vol. VI (1902), 346, Letter from Clinton to James Duane, 29 Oct 1780.

for frontier warfare. Typical of the action the Highlanders were involved in was the scouting mission that sent twenty-two year old Captain John Macdonell through the backwoods. With his rangers and 100 Indians, Macdonell gathered information and harassed the rear of an enemy advance.⁶⁶ Highland warfare traditionally involved sudden attack, plunder, and retreat over difficult terrain, so it is not improbable that the Highlanders, although newcomers, were soon skilled frontier guerillas. In August 1778 Joseph Newkerk reported a raid by Party of the Enemy to the Number of about Twenty Indians and One McDonald, a Tory"; and it is not clear whether it was the Indians or the Highlander who fired his imagination with greater horror.⁶⁷

The families that the Loyalist men left behind when they fled to Canada were vulnerable to patriotic reprisals for British raids. The confiscation of Loyalist property left both rich and poor dependent on the charity of their enemies. In September 1779, a petition was sent to Governor Clinton by Christine, Ann, Else, and Mary McDonald, Kate McIntosh and Ann McPherson, pointing out that they and many others "are reduced to the greatest distress imagineable by having their Cattle and Effects sold...and no way of getting a living whereby they might support themselves."⁶⁸ Similarly Spanish John wrote in March 1780 that his wife and children "were both naked and starving" and that "my oldest Girl of about sixteen was oblided to hire herself to Spinn." The Loyalist men petitioned their commanders and the Governor of Quebec for permission and assistance to bring their families to Canada. Spanish John's plea to Governor Haldimand starkly revealed the desperation felt by lonely husbands and fathers:

66 Captain John Macdonell was the son of Alexander of Aberchalder. PAC MG21 B100, 210-1, John McDonell to Major Butler, 24 July 1779.

67 Clinton Papers, vol. III (Albany, 1900), 678, 21 August 1778.

68 Clinton Papers, vol. V (Albany, 1901), 297.

If nothing can be done to obtain their speedy delieverance, I beg as the greatest obligation you can lay me under that you apply to his Excellency to send a party of Savages to bring me their six scalps, tho' it may seem unnatural, yet I assure you I would rather see or hear them dead than to linger any longer in misery....I will most cheerfully head any party he may think proper and make out their number, or perish in the attempt.⁶⁹

The patriots did not immediately expel the Loyalist families since they found it useful to keep the women and children hostage for the good behaviour of British troops. Later some Loyalist families were permitted to leave in exchange for Americans taken captive by the Indians. In November 1780, thirty-two Highland families were delivered to Canada in this way.⁷⁰ The wives and children of Spanish John and Allan Macdonell of Collachie were not so fortunate, however, and in spite of efforts to organize their exchange, they spent the war years in poverty in New York.⁷¹ Other Loyalist families owed their rescue to British raiding parties such as Sir John Johnson's in May 1780; when the Loyalists retreated they took with them "many Women Wives to Persons who formerly joined the Enemy [i.e. the British] and their Children."⁷²

When peace came to America with the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, the Highland emigrants were scattered across northern New York and the full length of the province of Canada. Many had fought in, and all had suffered from, a war that was not of their making nor to their benefit. The defeat of the British cause meant the final abandonment of lands the emigrants had acquired in New York; in compensa-

69 For Spanish John see PAC MG21 B73, 54, John McDonell, 20 Mar 1780. For petitions from other Loyalists see PAC MG21 B158, 351, Memorial of John & Alex McDonell; 352, Petition of sundry soldiers of KRRNY; *Ibid.*, MG21 B215, 253-4, Petition of Martin Walker, Murdoch McLean, Duncan Murchison, etc.

70 Clinton Papers, vol. VI, 452.

71 Mathews, Mark of Honour, 98.

72 Clinton Papers, vol. V, 769-70.

tion the British government undertook to settle the refugees in the remaining British colonies. In the summer of 1784, the Highland refugees followed the surveyors up the St. Lawrence and received grants of land from the Crown in the first three townships west of the French seigneuries. The Highland emigrants of 1773 had maintained their sense of community throughout the upheavals of emigration, settlement and war, and now that peace had come, the same commitment to community directed their actions. Nancy Jean Cameron expressed their hope for their new home when she wrote to friends in Scotland that the "McDonalds...hope to found in the new land a new Glengarry."⁷³

73 Cameron of Lochiel Papers, Copy of letter from Nancy Jean Cameron to Mrs. Kenneth McPherson, 12 May 1785, Breadalbane, New York.

Chapter 8

The 1785-1793 Emigrants

(i)

When peace was reached in America in 1783, Scottish ports opened again to Highland emigration. The independence of the American colonies, however, substantially reduced Highland interest in emigration to join Scottish settlers in the former Thirteen Colonies. Highland communities there, especially in Georgia, Carolina and New York, were themselves in disarray. The Loyalists, in some districts a large part of the population, departed to seek new homes under British rule. The surviving British colonies in North America, Nova Scotia, St. John's Island (now Prince Edward Island) and Quebec, became the primary destinations of a new generation of Highland emigrants.

Emigration from the Highlands in the ten years between the American and French Revolutionary Wars did not reach the same large numbers or emotional frenzy that had characterized trans-Atlantic migration between 1765 and 1774. Fewer than 6000 emigrants left the north of Scotland between 1783 and 1793,¹ an annual average only half the rate of Highland emigration in the twelve years before 1775. Part of this drop in the number of emigrants was the result of the breakdown of links between Highland communities in Scotland and those in the United States. Highlanders revealed a clear preference for emigration within the British Empire, and some fall in the rate of emigration was to be expected while new colonial destinations were found to replace the old. Certain Highland districts already had links with the remaining British colonies or saw such ties quickly

1 Adam, "The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803" SHR, vol. XVII (1920), 74.

established with the resettlement of the loyalist Scots. St. John's Island had small colonies from Uist and Glenfinnan, while Pictou, Nova Scotia, had been settled from Ross-shire. The New York loyalists from western Inverness were soon established on Crown lands in the province of Quebec and veterans of the 84th Regiment from the southern American colonies who had come principally from the Hebrides were put alongside their compatriots in Pictou. These settlements were the focal points of the emigration that occurred in the succeeding ten years, and as links between British North America and the Highlands matured, the volume of emigration ultimately increased.

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century, emigration became an accepted part of Highland life. Local clergymen expressed no astonishment at the successive departures of "great Colonies" of Highlanders. "Constant emigrating" and "great preparations for emigrating" became commonplace in many Highland districts and were no longer considered remarkable.² The belief that "People in this Age Must move about in quest of Employment & bread" was accepted by social leaders sympathetic to the people and by a large number of Highlanders.³ Both the practice of emigration and the new Highland settlements across the Atlantic were sufficiently well established by 1793 to make emigration an obvious option to the people of the Highlands.

The acceptance of emigration was to a larger degree the result of the growing economic and demographic crisis that threatened Highland society in the late eighteenth century. The low productivity of Highland agriculture and the minimal level of prosperity enjoyed

2 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. McDonald, 22 May 1786. *Ibid.*, Austin McDonald, 24 April 1786. *Ibid.*, James MacDonald, 24 June 1784.

3 SCA Blairs Papers, Capt. John McDonald (Glenaladale), 8 Jan. 1785.

by the tenants has already been described. The dramatic rise in population that characterized these years clearly put a severe strain on the agricultural resources and practices of the community. The famine of 1782-3 foreshadowed the cost of a failure to find a solution to the problem of feeding this growing number of people. The loss in that season of both the grain and potato crops left "a great many of the people...exceedingly ill off for want of means of supporting life."⁴ The only way of feeding more mouths given existing land tenure and usage was to substitute potatoes, which would feed three or four times as many people per acre, for oats. Without land reform or local industry, only emigration offered an alternative to this subsistence based to an ever larger degree on potatoes.⁵

The changes in landholding and agricultural production that did occur in the Highlands did not favour the former level of prosperity for the existing population, much less for a rapidly expanding one. The introduction of large-scale sheep farming in the 1780s triggered an economic and social crisis for Highland tenants. While a few did stock their farms with sheep, most tenants attempted to pay the greatly increased rents from traditional cattle farms. Bishop MacDonald described the situation on the Clanranald estate:

The Set has turned out more favourable to the small tenants than what we were at first given to understand would be the case. Every Body was allowed to overbid each other, notwithstanding the former possessors had preference, & got, some of them, a considerable deduction of the offers made by better Bets than themselves.

4 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 4 June 1784.

5 M. Flinn, Scottish population, 428-9. Flinn makes the point that the adoption of the potato imposed a check on emigration. I would argue instead that potato subsistence was sometimes chosen as an alternative to emigration, but that often as not it was the recourse of tenants who were unable to emigrate.

The rents are however exorbitantly high
& great numbers will not be able to make
them good for any length of time, unless
divine providence will interfere.⁶

Even with concessions from their chiefs, Highlands tenants would not long be able to rent their former holdings when faced with competition from sheep farmers. This dramatic change in the Highland economy presented the tenants with a choice between impoverishment, migration south, or emigration. Faced with the chiefs' betrayal of traditional life, many tenants would conclude that "the hardships they suffer under their squeezing & unfeeling masters oblige them to look for an asylum in distant Regions."⁷

(ii)

The second group of emigrants to settle in Glengarry County left Scotland in 1785. The most prominent individual among them was Roderick Macdonell, a Catholic missionary who had worked in the Highland parish of Glengarry from 1775 to 1785. Roderick was the son of John Macdonell of Leek, one of the tacksmen leaders of the 1773 emigration and three of Roderick's brothers had held commissions in Sir John Johnson's Regiment during the Revolutionary War.⁸ When his family emigrated in 1773, Roderick was studying for the priesthood in Douai, France, and was unable to accompany them. Upon his return to Scotland, Roderick refused to bind himself to serve the Scottish mission exclusively and instead took the missionary oath "on the

6 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 20 April 1789.

7 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 22 May 1786.

8 Fighting Men of a Highland Clan. Archibald was a Capt. in the 1st Batt. KRRNY, Allan was a Capt.-Lieut. in the same, and Ranald was a Lieut. in the 2nd Batt.

express condition of being able to go to America."⁹ The reason given for this special request was quite traditional: "as his parents & whole family had already gone to America," Roderick believed that within a few years it would be appropriate "to follow his numerous connections" there.¹⁰ In spite of his religious vocation Roderick Macdonell shared the predominant Highland interest in keeping family and community intact.

Roderick Macdonell's decision to emigrate was not however based simply on a desire to be reunited with his family; it was also made in response to the religious needs of the Highland emigrants settled in Canada. In a petition addressed to the Secretary of State, Lord Sydney, Macdonell explained his reasons for going to Canada:

That Lands have been lately assigned...(to the Scotch Loyalists) in the higher part of Canada; but being of the Roman Catholic persuasion, they are at a Loss for a clergyman, understanding their Language.... That the Memorialist being known and related to many of them, they have communicated Solicitations to him to go abroad & serve them in that capacity....¹¹

Bishop Alexander MacDonald was extremely reluctant to give Roderick, whom he considered "an excellant missionary", permission to leave Scotland. The great scarcity of priests that had troubled the Highland diocese in the 1760s had lessened somewhat by 1785, but with the population growing rapidly the clergy were only barely able to serve their widely scattered congregations. In April 1784 when Roderick announced his intention of emigrating, another young priest

9 O.A. Father Ewen J. Macdonald Papers, B-7, Box 8. Letter from Bps. Hay, MacDonald and Geddes to Propoganda Fide. Aug. 8, 1785. "Questo sacredote avena fatto il giuramento delle Missioni coll' espressa condizione poter andare all' America...."

10 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 10 Aug. 1784.

11 PAC "Q" Series vol. 24-2, 280.

died suddenly. Under these conditions Bishop's MacDonald's reluctance to give up a colleague can be understood. The departure of large numbers of Highland Catholics for America presented the hierarchy, still short of manpower, with a dilemma. The decision reached by Roderick Macdonell was the same as that of another emigrant priest: "...what will the priests do when the people goes and are we not made for the people more than the place?"¹²

As soon as peace was concluded in America, Roderick Macdonell's family began to "importune him much to cross the At(lantic) ocean." This pressure was increased when his brother arrived in Scotland in early 1785; family feeling had not weakened over time: "You may be Sure I was quit(sic) happy to meet a Brother, whom I had not seen for five and twenty years."¹³ Both Roderick's brother and his cousin, Capt. John Macdonell of Abercalder, travelled to Britain to present their claims for compensation as loyalists to the government. It may have been with these claims in mind that Roderick presented a petition of his own to Lord Sydney in June 1785. His memorial pointed out the poverty of the Catholic loyalists, and asked for permission to join them, for payment of his travelling expenses to the new settlements and of an annual pension. After a favourable reception from Lord Sydney, Roderick Macdonell left London on July 20, boarded the ship Ranger at Spithead on August 2, and reached Quebec after an agreeable voyage on September 28, 1785.¹⁴

In the spring of 1784, at the same time as the missionary decided to emigrate, members of his congregation also began to prepare

12 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 10 Aug 1784; Ibid, Alex Macdonald, Sr., Keppoch, 20 April 1784; Ibid, Austin McDonald, 24 April 1786.

13 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald to John Geddes, 1784; Ibid, Roderick Macdonell, 10 March 1785.

14 PAC MG14 A.O.13/81, 289-90, Memorial of Alex. McDonell. PAC "Q" Series, vol. 24-2, 280. SCA Blairs Papers, Roderick Macdonell, 10 Nov 1785.

their own departure to America. One year later, two hundred people left Glengarry and close to one hundred emigrated from Glenmoriston. These people were described by their bishop, as "the principal tenants" and the "most reputable Catholics" of the two estates.¹⁵ The emigrants were clansmen from the middle level of Highland society who possessed very modest financial resources, but were nonetheless the backbone of traditional, joint-farm communities. A majority of the emigrants were Macdonalds, but Frasers, Grants, McIntoshes, Kennedys, McIntyres, McMillans, McTavishes, Chisholms and a McQueen were included in the group. A partial list of 150 of the emigrants shows that most of these left in family groups: only four adults, two men and two women were unmarried. The remaining 146 people, 97% of the party, travelled in family groups. Six couples, perhaps newly married, travelled without children.¹⁶

Their decision to leave the Highlands for America was not taken suddenly. Those who emigrated in 1773 had spoken confidently of other Highlanders following them to New York.¹⁷ Since the 1773 emigrants came chiefly from Glengarry and Glenmoriston, it seems probable that a second emigration was actively considered from those estates in the years following the first departure. The outbreak of war in America however, closed Scottish ports to further emigration in September 1775. In spite of the vicissitudes of war, the Loyalists corresponded with their former neighbours and informed them of their

15 SCA Blairs Papers, Roderick Macdonell, 9 June 1784; *Ibid.*, Bishop A. MacDonald, 5 Aug 1785.

16 PAC RG19 vol. 4447. Parcel 2 #7. Victualling list of emigrants lately Come from Scotland by the way of New York and Albany who meant to settle in this Province. Commencing 25th and ending 31 Aug. 1786 Inclusive. Discussion of this document and the evident connection with the 1785 emigrants follow below in the description of the emigration itself.

17 See Chapter 7, section (iii).

removal to Canada. As early as June 9, 1784, when the Loyalists were themselves just arriving in Glengarry County, Canada and drawing land, Father Roderick Macdonell wrote from Inverness-shire:

There is a great emigration from this country to America. 300 Catholics are leaving it to join 8 or 9 hundred from this and adjacent countries already settled on the Banks of the St. Lawrence in Canada.¹⁸

Clearly those who remained in Scotland kept in touch with the Loyalist emigrants, and the moment that events again favoured emigration, a second departure to America from Glengarry and Glenmoriston was planned.

In general the reason behind the tenants' departure in 1785 lay in their rather long-standing dissatisfaction with the Glengarry estate, and in the attractive prospect of settling as a group with family and friends already in America. The commercial landlordism adopted by Duncan McDonell in 1772 had seriously eroded the economic security of the tenants and the traditional inter-dependence of chief and clansmen. However the immediate cause for the emigration in 1785 was the worsening of the tenants' situation in the three preceeding years. Bad weather destroyed crops across the Highlands in 1782. That same year, Glen Quitch, the western extension of Glen Garry, was let as a sheep farm; the ensuing loss of summer grazing clearly warned the Glengarry tenants of their prospects for the future. Early in 1784 Glengarry attempted to evict the tenants of eleven farms, and this action seems to have provided the final push needed to set the emigration in motion. Fifty-five tenants from farms along the north and south shores of the river Garry were ordered to leave by

18 SCA Blairs Papers, Roderick Macdonell, 9 June 1784. The word country is used in the sense of district.

Whitsunday 1784. References to a definite plan of emigration occur at this time, but the tenants did not leave their farms that year, and Glengarry had to obtain a decree and sentence of removal against them from the Sheriff-depute of Inverness in April 1785.¹⁹ In addition to the fifty-five tenants ordered to leave, their "Wives, Bairns, Family Tenants, Sub-tenants, Cottars and Dependants" were also cited, a minimum of one hundred families or five hundred people.

Not all of those removed from their farms choose to emigrate or could afford to do so: only 200 people or perhaps forty families left Glengarry in 1785; some 300 people, including the families of at least fifteen tenants, chose to remain in Scotland. A number of tenants appear to have maintained possession of their farms. John Macdonald of Inchlaggan and Donald Kennedy of Auchlouchiach, who were ordered out of their farms in the 1785 decree, were listed as inhabitants of those farms in 1802. Similarly Angus McMillan and his cousins were removed in 1802 from Badenjoig, from which farm Angus, his father and uncle had supposedly been evicted in 1785.²⁰ Five other cleared farms were also still inhabited by Glengarry's clansmen in 1802, although by how many and of what status -- tenant or crofter -- is not known.²¹ Possibly a majority of those remaining had been unable to pay their passage to Canada in 1785, but tenants such as the McMillans of Badenjoig who stayed in Scotland were not notably poorer than the tenants who emigrated.

No single list identifies all the emigrants from Glengarry and Glenmoriston in 1785. Two separate documents do together tend to identify the emigrants and to point to their arrival in 1786, after a

19 SRO GD128/65/12. Precept of Removing, 1 April 1785.

20 SRO GD128/65/12, Precept of Removing, 1 April 1785. Rev. Somerled MacMillan, Bygone Lochaber, (Glasgow, 1971), 89, 236-9.

21 Crofters were of course tenants, but of a lesser social and economic position and belonging to the improved agricultural society.

remarkable journey, among their friends in Canada. The first list is the eviction notice of 1785 that has already been referred to; the other is a provisioning list dated August 1786. The considerable interval between the two lists is explained in the title of the second: "Victualling list of Emigrants lately Come from Scotland by the way of New York & Albany who meaned to settle in this Province." Certain similarities between the two lists, and a long oral and written tradition within Glengarry County, make a convincing link between the tenants of the Glengarry estate and the emigration by way of New York.

The list of emigrants by way of New York contains thirty-six names, two-thirds of which are Macdonald. Sixteen of the twenty-four Macdonald names on the victualling list also appear on the 1785 precept of removal. This correlation is not unexpected since the same might be found true for any two randomly chosen lists of Macdonalds. Rather more useful are the twelve other surnames found on the emigrants list. Seven of these are not local Glengarry names: two definitely suggest a Glenmoriston origin. One of the non-Macdonald emigrants was a woman, Annie McIntosh, whose absence from the removal decree is not surprising.²² The remaining four men can be located on both lists: John McIntosh of Auchlouchiach, Donald McMillan of Badenjoig, Duncan Kennedy of Laggan, and John Kennedy of Laddy. The names of the first two men appear only once on both lists. Two Duncan Kennedys and two John Kennedys can be found on the removal decree, but since Duncan and John Kennedy of Ardnabee were again

22 PAC RG19 vol. 4447 Parcel 2 #7. Emigrants by way of Albany. Grant and McQueen are Glenmoriston names; McIntyre, Fraser, Chisholm and McTavish are names common in neighbouring Inverness-shire glens. Annie McIntosh could be the widow of Angus McIntosh of Auchlouchiach, or of some other tenant.

ordered to leave in 1786, it is clear that they did not emigrate the previous year.²³ Thus a comparison of the removal decree and the victualling list offers a probable identification of some of the evicted tenants with the emigrants who reached Canada in 1786.

The story of the 1785 emigration to Canada cannot be established definitely in all its detail, but when documentary and oral sources are put together, a cohesive narrative of the emigrants' journey to Canada emerges. The emigrants left Scotland under the leadership of Allan Macdonell.²⁴ Later a Justice of the Peace in Canada and described as "Esquire," Macdonell was one of the "Substantial tenants" who dominated this emigration.²⁵ Macdonell was born at Inchlaggan on the Glengarry estate in 1746; his younger brother, Alexander, later organized emigrations to Canada and was himself a commanding figure in Glengarry history as Bishop Macdonell of Kingston.²⁶

23 Fraser-MacIntosh, Notes, 128.

24 PAC RG5 D1, Upper Canada Gazette. 20 Jan 1827. Obituary of Allan M'Donald, Esq. The year of the emigration is inaccurately given as 1784, but a petition by his son, Angus Macdonell of 9 Dec 1835 refers to this obituary and corrects the date to 1785. Ross & MacGillivray point this out in A History of Glengarry, 10-11.

25 No evidence has been found to show whether Allan held a tenancy before leaving Scotland. Only one Macdonell (John) is listed as a tenant of Inchlaggan in 1785; since a John Macdonell emigrated in 1802, age makes it possible but not probable that Allan was his son. Alternatively, Allan may have been a sub-tenant in Inchlaggan or on some other farm, or one of the 1785 tenants of Laggan or Auchlouchiach named Allan Macdonell.

26 PAC Reel C-3029. St. Raphael's Parish Register, 15 Dec 1826, 520. This identification of Bishop Alexander Macdonell of Kingston as the brother of Allan Macdonell, leader of the 1785 party, is based on notes in George S. Macdonald's oral history of Glengarry (PAC MG29 C29). GSM names Squire Allan Macdonell as one of the 1787 emigrants by way of Albany (Notebook with first page blank: Interview with Capt. Grey); 1787 is an error for 1785 as will be shown in the following pages. GSM also refers to Squire Allan as the Bishop's brother (notebook beginning Family II). The obituary of Squire Allan Macdonell that appeared in the Upper Canada Gazette names Allan as leader of the 1785 emigration (see footnote 24) and was written by Bishop Macdonell (Ross and MacGillivray, Glengarry, 10).

The departure of the emigrants from Scotland in the year 1785 can be clearly established from the written record. Bishop Alexander MacDonald reported on 5 August 1785 that the Glengarry and Glenmoriston tenants had emigrated to America six weeks earlier. In a second letter written in May 1786, Bishop MacDonald again referred to the emigration that had occurred in 1785; a close reading of his letter suggests that these emigrants had not accompanied Father Roderick, who sailed in August 1785 from Spithead.²⁷ Six petitions for land from Highlanders in Glengarry County give the year of the petitioners' emigration from Scotland as 1785.²⁸ Two of the petitions specifically state that the petitioner was part of a group emigration in that year: "Your Memorialist came to this Country in 1785 with a body of Emigrants from Scotland."²⁹

The written record is least forthcoming, however, on the fate of the emigrants between their departure from Scotland in late June 1785 and their provisioning in Canada in August 1786. Only Allan Macdonell's obituary and the emigrant victualling list give any account of the emigrants' fortunes between these two dates. Even the

27 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 5 Aug 1785. *Ibid.*, Bishop A. MacDonald, 22 May 1786.

28 PAC Reel C-2193: UCLP M4 (1789-99), John McDonell no. 118 and Alex. MacDonald no. 211. Reel C-2194: UCLP M5(1800-01), Ranald McDonell no. 100. Reel C-2188: UCLP Mc. Misc. (1788-95) Alex. McDonell, no. 41d. Reel C-2199: UCLP M11 (1812-18), Lt. Angus McDonell no. 176. Reel C-2189: UCLP Mc. Misc. (1788-95), Alex. McIntosh, no. 88. Few land petitions survive for the Glengarry district before 1788. Thus it is not surprising that few petitions from the 1785 emigrants were found. All the petitions referred to here are requests for land some years after emigration, between 1790 and 1817; 3 petitioners specifically described themselves as sons of 1785 emigrants.

29 The quote is taken from Alex. McDonell's petition, PAC Reel C-2189, no. 41d. The other petition mentioning a group migration was Lt. Angus McDonell's, son of the leader Allan Macdonell, PAC Reel C-2199, no. 176.

obituary is a second-hand report, written by Bishop Macdonell and thus presumably based on his brother's reminiscences:

After a passage of seventeen weeks they were driven by stress of weather into Philadelphia. Though distant from the place of their destination and assailed by offers which were sufficiently advantageous to induce them to settle in the United States, Mr. M'Donald's (sic) influence over them so prevailed that not an individual remained behind, or departed from his Allegiance. After great privations, and at a considerable expense, the party settled in Glengarry....³⁰

The reference in the 1786 victualling list to the arrival of the Highlanders by way of New York and Albany contradicts the obituary as to the route taken by the emigrants, but it adds weight to the suggestion of a detour through the United States. The assertion in the obituary that all 300 emigrants reached Glengarry is very definite. It thus seems evident that the 151 people named in the victualling list represented only half the emigrants who reached Glengarry via the United States in 1786.³¹

The oral tradition, though it confuses the date of the 1785 emigrants' sailing, confirms and expands what the documents record of their long journey to Canada. The notion common to all oral accounts was the departure of two ships in 1786, and the arrival of one group of emigrants a year later by way of New York. One ship

30 PAC RG5 D1 Upper Canada Gazette, 20 Jan 1827.

31 It seems implausible that Bishop Macdonell would claim that not a single person remained in the U.S. but rather all settled in Glengarry, if as many as 150 people had separated from the group that did reach Glengarry. In 1786 the Loyalist settlers were still being provisioned, but the bureaucratic order did not normally provide provisions for emigrants. Only a part of government records survive from that period, and military records (provisioning was done through the army) are particularly meagre. It is thus more surprising that one victualling list for 151 emigrants has survived than it is that a second list naming the remainder has not been found.

did leave western Inverness in 1786, carrying a large party of emigrants from Knoydart to Glengarry County; this emigration is described in the following section. But the other ship, that failed to reach Canada and whose passengers arrived via the United States, sailed the preceeding year, 1785. It seems beyond reasonable doubt that the oral tradition of the "delayed" emigrants of 1786 in fact refers to the party led by Allan Macdonell in 1785-86. Precise recording of dates is not generally one of the strengths of oral testimony. In this instance, the proximity of the dates of the two emigrations, the greater importance of the second migration, and the year lost by the first group of emigrants, all would tend to telescope the two events into one year. Thus the migration referred to in the oral record as 1786/87 may be confidently identified with the 1785 emigration of the written record.

The first oral account of the 1785 emigration to be published appeared in an article by A.M. Pope in 1881.³² According to Miss Pope, one of the two ships that left Scotland in 1786 (sic) was forced by bad weather to turn back to Belfast for repairs. Although the ship sailed a second time that year for America, it was prevented from reaching Quebec by the lateness of the season, and instead the emigrants landed at Philadelphia. Lodged for the winter in recently-vacated British army barracks, the emigrants were the victims of a second disaster when their quarters burned to the ground. In late winter 1787 (sic), the emigrants continued their journey by Lake Champlain to Isle-aux-Noix in Canada where friends from Glengarry County met them.

32 A.M. Pope, "A Scotch catholic settlement in Canada," Catholic World. vol. 34, October 1881. p. 73-4. Pope gives no reference for her material. There is no suggestion whether she has family connections in Glengarry, but there is an indication that she had visited the county.

The source for Pope's account of the 1785 emigration is revealed in George S. Macdonald's oral history collection, his Glengarry notebooks of 1883-5. Macdonald was clearly intrigued by her tale which he referred to as the "Delaware story." In one of his notebooks, Macdonald quoted material which he described as an "Extract from Miss Pope's Questions." Her source of information was named as "the old man at St. Raphaels."³³ "According to him," the emigrants "...wintered at Philadelphia. lost all by fire and in the spring started for their destination. Were met by their friends at Ile aux Noix...."

With his curiosity aroused, Sandfield Macdonald himself attempted to discover more about the 1787(sic) emigrants. His most valuable informant on the subject was Captain Grey (Macdonell), 88 years old in March 1884. Sandfield concluded that the Captain was the source of the Delaware story. He recorded the Captain's tale in these words:

Says the captain of the ship was Archd. McNeil. Went to New York and then to Albany & stayed that winter & agreed with the quelude of the states & took up lands in Johnstown. Made an application from Albany to Col. Deschambeau Left Albany in 87 for Canada in boats to Lake George then by Champlain & river Richelieu to Sorel & to Montreal. They got a years provision.³⁴

The Captain named eighteen of the 1787(sic) emigrants, as well as the native glen of thirteen of these: eight from Glengarry, four from

33 PAC MG29 C29. Notebook: Family I, Interview with Misses Lachlan McD. January 1884. St. Raphaels is the oldest Roman Catholic parish in Glengarry County located in the center of the 1785-86 emigrants' settlement. "The old man" must have been a resident of the village about the church or of the general neighbourhood.

34 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook: Family II. Grey is presumably his nickname. Ibid., Notebook. 1st page blank. Interview with Capt. Gray.

Glenmoriston, and one from Knoydart. John Macdonald agreed with Captain Grey, but another contemporary, James Ranald McGillis, did not believe the Delaware story to be true.³⁵

A third version of the 1785 emigration occurs in Carrie Holmes MacGillivray's novel, The Shadow of Tradition, published in 1938. MacGillivray seems to have drawn, if not directly on A.M. Pope, then on the same oral source on which Pope based her article. In the novel, two ships leave Scotland in 1786(sic). The first ship, damaged by storms, puts into Belfast for repair. On sailing a second time, it reaches New York, but a lack of accommodation there forces the ship to travel on to Philadelphia. The emigrants are accommodated in empty barracks, which are destroyed by fire on January 10, 1787(sic). The emigrants travel north to Isle-aux-Noix where, before the spring thaw occurs, their Glengarry friends come to take them to their new home.³⁶ MacGillivray clearly acknowledged her dependence on the oral tradition in her preface:

Many of the incidents portrayed are based upon the unwritten history. The sufferings of the unfortunate people on the Britannia are not exaggerated. The real name of the vessel is uncertain; but the tale of its tragic voyage and the subsequent hardships of the emigrants is tradition known by a few of the present generation, and the truth of which they have no reason to doubt.³⁷

The basic story that lies behind all the oral accounts of the 1785 emigration fits in well with the facts known through the documentary record. Bad weather that delayed the ship and forced it to

- 35 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook: Family II. John Macdonald, 71, Mch. "84. "Miss Pope's account of the 2 ships in 86 is correct." Ibid., Notebook with list beginning "Donald Sutherland." Interview with J.R. McGillis.
- 36 C. Holmes MacGillivray, The Shadow of Tradition, 19-25; 65-6; 81-2; 92-6; 98-104.
- 37 Carrie H. MacGillivray, The Shadow of Tradition, author's preface.

land in an American port, and the journey via Albany appear as common elements in both traditional and written accounts of this emigration. Where the oral record gives more detail than the written, that detail is generally neither implausible nor incompatible with the known facts of the migration. The emigrants did leave in late June 1785 and their passage of seventeen weeks is reported to have ended unexpectedly at Philadelphia. The reason for their landing in an American port is not fully explained in the written record, but the refit in Belfast that is part of the traditional story could account for it when added to their lengthy passage.³⁸ Similarly, the destruction of the barracks in which the emigrants lodged could have been one of the great privations referred to in the obituary.

The only part of the oral tradition incompatible with the written one is Captain Grey's account of the emigrants accepting land at Johnstown. This seems improbable within his own time-frame of one winter between arrival in New York and departure for Canada. The obituary mentions advantageous offers of land to the emigrants in the United States, and perhaps it is to one of these that Captain Grey actually refers. In other respects the Captain's narrative rings true. Indeed the man he names as having received the emigrants into Canada, Deschambeau, can be traced in the military records of the time. Deschambeau, later a colonel in the Canadian militia, was in 1786 a lieutenant in the 44th Regiment. The first battalion of the

38 There are 3 possible reasons. (1) They had intended to land in an American port, (2) bad weather forced them so far south that it seemed sensible to land at an American port, or (3) bad weather forced a refit at Belfast, or other British port, added to which a 17 week passage brought them across the Atlantic after the late November closing of the St. Lawrence by ice. Of these the first seems unlikely just after war's end; and the second not quite convincing since 17 weeks would have them on the western side of the Atlantic by mid-Oct., before the St. Lawrence's closing.

regiment was posted at stations near Montreal from late 1781 until the summer of 1786 when it sailed for Britain.³⁹ While there is no specific proof that Lieut. Deschambeau assisted the 1785 emigrants, the accuracy of the oral record in naming a British officer serving in the border region during the year in question is clearly more than coincidence.

The most striking aspect of the story of the 1785 emigration is its absence from the written history of Glengarry. Local histories of the county by J.A. Macdonell in 1893, and John Harkness in 1946 mention only the 500 emigrants from Knoydart who left Scotland in 1786.⁴⁰ General studies of emigration to Canada also make no reference to the 1785 emigrants.⁴¹ More recently, Ewen Ross and Royce MacGillivray uncovered one of the few documents that mentions the 1785 emigration, but did not work their material out to its logical conclusion.⁴² On the other hand, oral traditions, collected from the Glengarry community over one hundred to one hundred and fifty years after the 1785 emigration, continued to report an emigration by way of New York. The temporal proximity of the emigration from Glengarry and Glenmoriston in 1785, and that from Knoydart in 1786, as well as the arrival of both groups in Canada in the same year, was over

39 Army List (1786), 107. Lt. F. DeChambault, 27 May '83. Charles H. Stewart, The Service of British Regiments in Canada & North America. Pt. 1 DND Library Pub. no. 1, 208. PAC Brit. Mus. Add. Mss. 21661-21892, MG21 B76, 180.

40 John A. Macdonell, Sketches...Glengarry in Canada, 127. John G. Harkness, Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 50.

41 Helen I. Cowan, British Emigration, 16-18. Cowan refers to the 1790 emigrants joining kinsmen who had settled in Canada in 1785 and 1786. Her source is not evident in C.O. 42/82 Council Minutes, Jan. 11, 1791. I take 1785 to be a reference to Loyalist settlers. Cowan discusses the 1786 emigration in some detail but names no other emigration in the 1780s, so it seems unlikely she realized there was a migration in 1785.

42 Ross & MacGillivray, Glengarry, 10-11.

succeeding years telescoped into a single event. Histories of Glengarry written from documentary sources described only the larger 1786 emigration, while the oral histories preserved the more accurate account of two ships and two emigrations.

(iii)

The third major emigration to Glengarry County was the emigration from Knoydart and North Morar in 1786. First hand accounts both of the departure of the emigrants from Scotland and of their arrival in Canada agree that more than 500 people made the passage. In late May 1786 Bishop MacDonald reported that there was "a numerous emigration ready to take shipping in Knoydart of upwards of 500 souls, all Catholics." A few months later in September, the Quebec Gazette announced the arrival of their ship, the McDonald, with ten cabin and 520 steerage passengers.⁴³

Three men, each in a different way a man of standing in the community, figured prominently in the emigration. To the colonial government, Lieut. Angus McDonell was the leader and spokesman of the emigrants. McDonell, or Sandaig as he was nicknamed, had served in America during the Revolutionary War in the 71st Regiment and then returned to Scotland after being reduced to half-pay in June 1784.⁴⁴ Father Alexander Macdonell, Scotus, was the spiritual leader of the emigrants, and a later generation also remembered him as one

43 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop MacDonald, 22 May 1786. Also PAC RG4 D1, Quebec Gazette, 7 Sept 1786.

44 PAC Reel C-3001. "S" Series, 9909-15. Copy of letter from Brig-Gen. Hope to Lt. Angus Macdonell, 25 Sept 1786. Hope deals with McDonell regarding the provisioning of the 1786 emigrants and expects McDonell and 2 others to take responsibility for repayment. PAC Reel C-2188, UCLP McMisc. 1788-95. vol. 323 (a), no. 44.

of the organizers of the journey. James Ranald McGillis commented that "the people selected Scotus & Angus Macdonald (Sandeck) to procure a ship to take them over."⁴⁵ The third prominent figure among the emigrants was Angus Ban Macdonell, himself a tenant of Muniall. Family tradition preserved until the present day, names Angus Ban as one of the leaders of the 1786 emigration, and other oral sources confirm his standing in the community.⁴⁶ It seems likely that Angus Ban played a pivotal role in the decision to emigrate: as one of the substantial tenants and men of influence in Knoydart, his commitment to emigration would have induced others to decide to leave also.

Not enough information survives to analyse statistically the social and economic position of the 1786 emigrants, but quite a number of individuals can be picked out and a sense of their identity emerges from these references. Several families emigrated from North Morar, but most of the 1786 emigrants left from the three estates in Knoydart: from Barisdale, Glengarry and Scotus.⁴⁷ There is no clear indication, however, whether the number of departures was higher from one estate than from another in proportion to population, or roughly equal across the peninsula. An unknown number of emigrants left from Inverguseran, Niegart and Wester Croulin, farms on the Glengarry

45 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook: Donald Sutherland, Interview with J.R. McGillis, Question 2.

46 Ranald McDonell of Scotus speaks of Angus Ban as a figure of some consequence. SRO GD128/8/1/5. Mrs. Florence Macdonell confirmed his leadership of the 1786 emigrants in an interview in September 1977. Finally in PAC MG29 C29 Notebook: Family I, from R.S. question 2, "Col. James' father was a leading man." Col. James was the youngest son of Angus Ban of Muniall.

47 Barisdale and Glengarry were re-united in 1784 when the forfeiture to the Crown was lifted from Barisdale and it was returned to Glengarry and not its wadsetter, Barisdale. But the two estates are regarded separately in the following as their divergeant experience between 1748 and 1784 may have produced distinctive behaviour.

estate. Two of the tenants of the forfeit estate of Barisdale can clearly be identified among the emigrants. One was Angus Ban, who had rented Muniall from 1774 and whose father held the same farm twenty years before that, and the other was Samuel Macdonell, the possessor of Sorious for more than eleven years.⁴⁸

Several of the Scotus tenants were among the 1786 emigrants. Father Alexander, who has already been mentioned, rented part of the farm of Inveriebeg from his nephew Ranald McDonell of Scotus. The James McKay of Glendulochan and the Neil Campbell of Scotus farms can be confidently identified with the emigrants of the same names. The two John Macdougalls, one of Scotus farm and the other of Kinloch-lochan, are quite possibly the John Macdougalls who emigrated in 1786. John Roy Macdonald, who left Scotland with his pregnant wife and three small children, came from Shenachadh on the Scotus estate.⁴⁹ The emigrants who sailed from Knoydart in 1786 were drawn from across the peninsula and from farms on all three estates.

Like the people who left Glengarry and Glenmoriston a year earlier, the 1786 emigrants were almost all tenants, from the middle stratum of Highland society. On 13th February 1786, McDonell of Scotus pointed out in a letter to his solicitor that "most of the tenants of this country have signed to emigrate to Canada...."⁵⁰

48 SRO GD128/7/1/14. Letter from Ranald McDonell, 1 May 1784. SRO E741/20/8. Rental of Barisdale 1784-5; Rental of Barisdale 1774.

PAC RG19 vol. 4447, List of sundry persons as Emigrants from North Britain who were located by Mr. James McDonell in the township of Lancaster & Charlottenburgh in the years 1786 & 1787. Hereafter referred to as Sundry Persons. G.S. Macdonald's list of 1786 emigrants in PAC MG29 C29, Samuel Macdonell.

49 For a list of Scotus's tenants see SRO GD128/8/2/38. For the 1786 emigrants see Sundry Persons, PAC RG19, vol. 4447. John Roy is named as an emigrant and from Shenachadh in O.A. Father Ewen. J. Macdonald Col. B-1-14, Box 6. Env. 2; C-1-2 Box 8, History of St. Raphaels, 17.

50 SRO GD128/7/1/45. R. McDonell to A. Macdonald, 13 Feb 1786.

Some indication of the tenants' social and economic significance in the community was given by the Scottish bishops in a report to Rome. In a letter written just after the emigrants' departure the bishops commented:

We could not stop this emigration, but much loss resulted to our missions, which we now see at the lowest point. For those who emigrate are just the people who are a little better off, and from whom the priest received hospitality on his Apostolic journey....⁵¹

Each of the emigrants whose identity has been established was a tenant from one of the joint farms that were found throughout the peninsula. The tenants who left Knoydart in 1786 were men of standing, of relative substance in that traditional community.

The web of kinship that tied the 1786 emigrants to each other and to those already in Canada was extensive and complex. Such intricate relationships reflected to no small degree the dense kinship patterns in the community that the emigrants left behind. Unfortunately the full extent of the kinship networks that linked settlers in Glengarry County cannot now be determined. Nonetheless, several documents, laconic in nature, do indicate the presence of a large number of children and suggest the predominance of family groups in the 1786 party. In addition, evidence gleaned chiefly from oral sources gives some sense of the kinship that linked various emigrant families.

The fact that 520 people left Knoydart in 1786 has already been established. While no single document reliably reports the number

51 "Has quidem emigrationes nos impedire non possumus, sed multum damni Missionibus nostris allaturas, imo jam attulisse, videmus. Nam, qui emigrant illi plerumque sunt qui paulo erant locupletiores, et apud quos Missionarri in Apostolicis suis itineribus poterant hospitari...." O.A. Father Ewen J. Macdonald Coll. B-7, Box 8: Two extracts from apostolic letter of Bishops Hay, Macdonald and Geddes, 28 July 1786.

of families and of children, three separate references to the composition of the emigrant party have been found. Lieut. Angus McDonell, one of the leaders of the group, stated in a land petition in 1801 that he had come to Canada "...with a hundred Families from North Britain in the year 1786...."⁵² While the number one hundred is rather too rounded to suggest exact reporting, it seems quite plausible that at least seventy-five families were included in the 1786 party. Some idea of the number of children among the 1786 emigrants is gained from a comment made by Ranald McDonell. On April 1st, 1786 he noted that "no less than 280 passengers" had signed an agreement to emigrate and to pay half their passage by the 20th of that month.⁵³ Since this commitment to emigrate was in writing, it is probable that very close to 280 full passengers did sail in June; the remaining 240 passengers would thus have been children. Full passage was paid at thirteen years of age, so 46% of the 1786 emigrants might well have been no older than thirteen.⁵⁴

The third reference to the composition of the emigrant party describes only part of the group that arrived in Quebec in September 1786. In that month the Commissary-General, John Craigie, wrote from Quebec to warn his agent in Montreal of the imminent arrival of a large number of Highland emigrants. Craigie stated that "The Number of Families are about Fifty-two, and the Persons, among whom are

52 PAC Reel C-2194 UCLP M5 (1800-01) no. 81. McDonell was applying for more land on the basis of being a reduced lieutenant, and not on the number of families he had brought to Canada.

53 SRO GD128/8/1/4 R. McDonell to A. Macdonald, 1 April 1786. While some of the 280 may not have emigrated, they may equally have been replaced. At that late date however the vast majority of those who were going were presumably committed to do so.

54 A Highland society report divided into adults and children those above/below 16 years for Maritime destinations and above/below 12 for Canada. P.P. 1802-03; vol. IV, 40-1.

many Children, in all about 345."⁵⁵ These figures give an average family size of 6.6 people; the number of children, while unspecified, would clearly have been substantial. Absent from Craigie's note is any reference to the other 185 emigrants who were part of the 1786 group, and there is little evidence as to the identity of these missing emigrants. A number are known to have come in family groups: several McMillan, the McGillis and McPhee families spent a few years in Terrebonne, near Montreal, before joining friends in Glengarry.⁵⁶ Some of the other 185 emigrants may have been unmarried men or women who worked briefly in Montreal or Quebec.

The 1786 emigration can be characterized as a family emigration with a large percentage of children among the passengers. This is in marked contrast to certain emigrations of 1774-75, described by Flinn in his Scottish Population History. Although these earlier emigrants were generally found to have travelled in family groups, the number of children among them was disproportionately low. Only 22.9% of the 1774-75 emigrants were under 14. Children of that age group formed 33.4% of the Scottish population in 1755, and roughly 38% of the Highland population in the early 1790s.⁵⁷ The 1786 emigrant party, of whom perhaps 46% were under 13, thus differed radically from the 1774-75 groups. This predominance of families and of children distinguished the 1786 emigrants from some earlier parties, and suggested a special character for the community they went to.

55 PAC Reel C-3001 "S" Series, 9909-15. Copy of letter from John Craigie to Stephen DeLancey, 4 Sept 1786.

56 Duncan McMillan, Corriebuie, comments in his land petition of 1817 that he came to Canada in 1786 but lived in Terrebonne for several years before coming to Glengarry c.1792: PAC Reel C-2200 M11 (1811-19) no. 302. In GSM's list of 1786 emigrants Duncan McMillan and his father Alex are said to have gone first to Terrebonne, as had John McGillis, Donald McGillis, & John McPhee: PAC MG29 C29 List. Duncan McMillan & wife, and his sister Anne & husband both had children while in Terrebonne; see Ray. Masson, Genealogie des Families de Terrebonne, III, 1740.

57 Flinn, Scottish Population 263, 445. The percentage for the 1790s is a composite figure.

The web of kinship that characterized the 1786 emigrants to Glengarry County was not limited to the two-generation households that dominated the passenger list. Many of the families that emigrated in 1786 were related to one another. Thus John and Allan Macdonald were brothers, as were Donald, Archie and John McDougall.⁵⁸ Alexander McMillan, a widower, emigrated with his married children Duncan and Anne, and his unmarried son John. John Roy Macdonald of Shenachadh was accompanied by his brother Angus and family.⁵⁹ A niece of Father Alexander Macdonell was among the emigrants. A more extended relationship, that of first cousins, existed between Angus Ban of Muniall, Malcolm Macdougall, Allan Macdonald and their families.⁶⁰ Many of the emigrants must also have been related by marriage as were Angus Ban and Farquhar MacRae, the latter having recently married Angus' daughter. Very few of the roughly one hundred families of the 1786 emigrants appear to have left Scotland without the company of close relatives.⁶¹ Indeed it is quite possible that most of the emigrants were bound by family ties to as many as a half dozen other emigrant families.

These were by no means the only kinship links that influenced the 1786 emigrants since many of them had family members already

58 PAC MG29 C29 List of emigrants.

59 Information regarding the McMillans was obtained from Mary Beaton, Ottawa, genealogist and descendant of Alexander McMillan. Information concerning John Roy from Alex. Fraser, President of the Glengarry Genealogical Society. He possesses a chart of the family tree of the Macdonalds of Loup to which John and Angus belonged.

60 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell, 21 Nov 1785. PAC MG29 C29 Notebook...1st page blank. Interview with James Duncan Macdonald, 92.

61 Interview with Mrs. Florence Macdonell, Sept 1977 for information concerning Angus Ban. Personal family genealogies were well-known in Highland society and relationships as distant as 4th cousin were recognized as close family ties.

settled in Glengarry County. John Buie Macdonald was a brother-in-law of Allan Macdonell, leader of the 1785 party. John Roy Macdonald and his brother Angus had first cousins in Glengarry: the brothers Alex and John Macdonald were Loyalist settlers.⁶² Similarly Angus Ban's brother Finan, uncle John and cousin Duncan were all Loyalists living in Glengarry. Father Alexander Macdonell, Scotus, had extensive family connections in the New World, including his half-nephew Spanish John and distant cousins, the Macdonalds of Leek, Collachie and Abercalder.⁶³ These examples show that at least seven of the 1786 emigrant families had relatives already in Canada; a more extensive knowledge of family histories would undoubtedly reveal such ties were typical of an even larger number of 1786 emigrants.

The causes behind this large scale emigration from Knoydart in 1786 were essentially the same as those that prompted the departures from Glengarry and Glenmoriston a year earlier. The scene was set with the disastrous harvest of 1782. When the oat and potato crops failed, many of the inhabitants were at a loss to feed either themselves or their animals. Ranald McDonell of Scotus described their plight:

The men of Kyles, & Kyliehorn are ruined by the loss of their cattle, as also the rest of the small tenants of Knoydart, to a few. For they have given their own provisions to their cattle, that are gone, & going fast, & next the poor people have little or nothing for themselves to eat. They made no labouring to speak of, and the miserable, distressed creatures have not seed to sow the little ground they made.⁶⁴

62 PAC MG29 C29. In the 1786 list he was described as married to Bishop Macdonell's sister and hence was brother-in-law to Allan. Interview with Alec. Fraser.

63 Interview with Mrs. Florence Macdonell. SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell, Sandfield, 21 Nov 1785.

64 SRO GD128/7/1/14. R. McDonell, 1 May 1784.

The bad years between 1782 and 1784 impoverished both big and small tenants but the more substantial tenants still had resources sufficient to finance their emigration. The chief impetus to emigrate came from the economic upheaval that followed closely on those years of famine.

In 1784 and 1785 Glengarry and Scotus introduced sheep farming to the Knoydart peninsula and raised rents dramatically.⁶⁵ Some of the tenants could not pay their increased rents after the bad years of the early 1780s. Ranald McDonell reported the outcome of their meeting with Glengarry:

I am sorry he did not promise to abate a trifle of the rents to the delegation from the farms of Invergisoren, Nieugart, and Wester Crouline. The consequence is that he has now to look out for tenants as many of those have signed for America; and should the people stay they are but the next thing to beggars.⁶⁶

In 1784 Glengarry recovered the Forfeit Estate of Barisdale and in November 1785 he "sent for the Barisdale tenants." What their discussion dealt with is uncertain but an increase in rent may well have been one question at issue. At this time Glengarry was planning to stock the northern part of Knoydart with sheep and to remove tenants from those farms. Before he could do so, however, "...most of the tenants of this country...signed to emigrate to Canada so that the sums. of removals...[could] not be execute."⁶⁷

Ranald McDonell of Scotus stocked his small estate with sheep and ordered the removal of tenants at the same time as Glengarry

65 See Chapter 5, section (iii) and (v).

66 SRO GD128/7/1/14. R. McDonell, 1 May 1784.

67 SRO GD128/7/1/39. R. McDonell, 26 Nov 1785; SRO GD128/7/1/41. R. McDonell, 30 Nov 1785; SRO GD128/7/1/45. R. McDonell, 13 Feb 1786.

reorganized his property. Twenty-seven tenants were warned to leave the farms of Scothouse & Torrory, Inveriebeg, Glendulochan & Corryyochill, North Kinlochlochlan, and South Kinlochlochlan in 1784. In the spring of the following year however, Scotus found himself fully occupied stocking the first two farms so the tenants of Glendulochan were permitted to remain. At least five of the 1786 emigrants were tenants from the cleared farms, but a sixth emigrant, John Roy Macdonald, came from Shenachadh which was not cleared.⁶⁸ These removals warned both small and big tenants of the insecurity of their tenure and must have forced many of them onto poorer farms. Some of the evicted tenants acquired new holdings, at least temporarily. Father Alexander Scotus moved from Inveriebeg to Sandfield; here he built new "huts," presumably for his sub-tenants, and also compensated the former occupants for their improvements.⁶⁹

The complex motivation that lay behind an individual decision to emigrate can be seen in the case of Father Alexander Macdonell. Scotus was not typical of the emigrants for he was a poor farmer and manager; when he left Scotland in June 1786 his financial affairs were in a bad state. Bishop MacDonald believed that Father Alexander's emigration was "more owing to the embarrassed situation of his farming than to choice." But without the prospect of settling among old friends in a new Highland community, it is arguable that the priest would not have left Knoydart. Father Alexander, in spite of his oath to serve the Scottish mission for life, was "right or wrong

68 SRO GD128/8/2/38. List of tenants to be removed, 1784. SRO GD128/7/1/29. R. McDonell, 30 April 1785. Father Alexander McDonell, Inveriebeg; John Macdougall & Neil Campbell of Scothouse; James McKay of Glendulochan; and John Macdougall, piper, of North Kinlochlochlan.

69 SCA Blairs Papers, A. Macdonell, 14 July 1785; SCA Blairs Papers, A. Macdonell, 6 Oct 1785.

wrong determined to accompany" his 500 parishioners to Canada.⁷⁰
 Attracted to the New World partly by the prospect of a government pension, Father Alexander also looked forward to a position of authority in the Highland settlement where he had "a brother, some nephews and Nieces, & many scores of old Parishioners & acquaintances."⁷¹

The 1786 emigration from Knoydart was the dramatic exodus of 520 people, perhaps 30% of the district's population, and of most of its tenants. These families left because economic and social changes, which over the previous forty years had only gradually altered their community, suddenly in the few years before 1786 effected a fundamental re-organization of that community. The new sheep farming needed both labourers, outside expertise and capital; it had no role or use for the traditional tenant farmer. Faced with this social and economic betrayal the tenants of Knoydart had two basic choices. They could remain in the new commercial society where they no longer had any recognized right to the land their fathers held, or they could emigrate to Canada where free land was granted and a new Gaelic community already existed.

The radical nature of the decision to emigrate must not be overlooked. In a people noted for their intense conservatism and attachment to the land, a mass departure such as occurred from Knoydart in 1786 was clearly a sharp break with the past. However, the decision to emigrate did not represent a rejection of traditional Highland values; rather than accept the new order, the tenants sought another country where the values of community and their right to land might be assured. The tenants of Knoydart, those of its inhabitants who could afford the trans-Atlantic passage, freely chose

70 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop MacDonald, 22 May 1786.

71 SCA Blairs Papers, A. Macdonell, 21 Nov. 1785.

to emigrate. The people were not forced to leave by Glengarry or Scotus; as the Scottish bishops testified, "all firmly wished to go."⁷² Letters and visitors from Canada brought news of land available in the new Glengarry at the same time as agricultural reform reached a climax in Knoydart.⁷³ The Knoydart tenants emigrated because they rejected the place assigned to them in the new commercial society of the Highlands and because they chose to join kin and friends in a new Gaelic community in Canada.

The bustle and confusion that must have prevailed in the spring of 1786 as a large part of the population of Knoydart prepared to leave Scotland can well be imagined. Scotus' son, Charles commented that the district was "all in a ferment with emigration." Sandaig and Father Alexander Scotus went south to Greenock to charter a ship for the voyage.⁷⁴ The excitement of departure and the hope of a comfortable pension from government in Canada seem to have led Father Alexander into extravagant spending during his last months in Scotland. Bishop Macdonald confided to John Geddes that he had been:

...informed, with what trouth I cannot say, that my friend Mr. Alexr Scothouse had made an Elegant appearance there (in Knoydart) in Silks, before he set out for the metropolis so he may while his credit stands but (I) fear that will not be long if he will continue to go on at the rate he does.⁷⁵

The Bishop's fears were realized since Father Alexander tried to borrow money from him just before sailing to Canada.

72 O.A. Father Ewen J. Macdonald, Box 8, B-7. "...Ferre omnes exituri erant." Taken from one of two extracts from the bishops' letter of 28 July 1786.

73 The emigrants informed colonial authorities that they had come to Canada on the invitation of their friends: PAC Reel C-3001, "S" Series p. 9909-15, letter of 4 Sept 1786. Lt. Angus McDonell, Sandaig, Capt. John Macdonell, Abercalder, and his cousin Leek all visited the Highlands after 1783.

74 SRO GD128/8/1/3. Charles McDonell, 1 April 1786. *Ibid.*, GD128/8/1/4, R. Macdonell, 1 April 1786 and also PAC MG29 C29 Notebook... Donald Sutherland; J.R. McGillis, 2.

75 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 12 June 1786.

Part of the emigrants' preparations for departure were spiritual in nature, with a two week visit from Bishop Macdonald and his namesake, Father Alexander MacDonald, Keppoch. The bishop "confirmed a vast number of both sexes" in preparation for their arduous future. The ship, McDonald, did not arrive in Knoydart on the date originally planned; May 23, it was expected any day, but on June 12 it had still not been sighted. The result of this delay was to throw "everything...in a kind of confusion" as the emigrants anxiously awaited the vessel. Father Alexander was also eagerly looked for but he remained in the lowlands leaving the emigrants to "long impatiently" for his return.⁷⁶

At length the McDonald arrived in Knoydart, the emigrants went aboard, and the ship sailed on the 29th of June. Iain Liath Macdonald, one of the emigrants, described their departure in verse:

It was on Sunday morning
That we sailed from land
In the big three masted ship
With our parish priest with us.
He made the fervent prayer
To the King of the Elements to protect us
And to the Angel St. Raphael
To bring us safely to land.⁷⁷

As the McDonald moved from the harbour, there was no clear eye on board her, and a great wailing and lamenting went up from those who remained behind.⁷⁸ Yet while the emigration was a heart-wrenching

76 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 12 June 1786. Also Alex, MacDonald, Keppoch, 23 May 1786.

77 Oran of Iain MacDhomhnuil, Printed copy from scrapbook owned by John J. McLeod, Glen Nevis, Glengarry Co. "Sann air maduin Dì-domhnich/Rinn sinn seladh bho thir/Air long mhor nan trì chranac/S'air sagairt pareisde linn/Rinn e fhein an ard-urnuigh/Rì Rìgh nan Dal ga air dian/S'ris an aingeal naomh Rafael/Air eur sab-hailt gu tìr." This text contains errors of spelling and grammar which indicate that the scribe was not a master of written Gaelic.

78 Oran, Iain liath. "Nuair a ghluais sinn bho challa/Bha moran gal ann s'caoidh/...Nuair chuir i cul ris a'n fhearan/S'na suil gheala ri crainn."

abandonment of a deeply loved land and home, it was not a turning away from traditional Gaelic culture or values. That tradition continued to provide a framework on which the people could interpret and make sense of their new experience. The sixty-one day passage to Quebec was not without incident: as the McDonald entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence:

...a sea gull perched on the mast. One John McGinnis shot the bird which fell on the deck, the blood shattering about. Shortly after the ship struck upon a sandbar. A council was held...and they decided that McGinnis must have been guilty of murder in the old country and they would have pitched him overboard but for the intervention of Scotos.⁷⁹

As the emigrants travelled across the Atlantic, old tales were remembered and unfamiliar events worked into traditional cultural patterns. The seventeen verse poem written many years later by Iain liath MacDonald was one such response, preserving in traditional imagery and form the events of departure, and the hopes and sorrows of the emigrants on leaving Knoydart that summer.

Although an eight and a half week passage was not very long by eighteenth century standards, the 1786 emigrants arrived in Canada only on August 31, with little time to get settled before the onslaught of winter. Colonial officials in Quebec were aware of the limited financial resources of the Highland emigrants and feared that their friends in the new settlements were too recently established to

79 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook...Family I...Glengarry. R.S. (Ranald Sandfield, uncle to the author). no. 2 Carrie Holmes MacGillivray's chief characters, the Kennedys, are dogged by bad luck because of the curse of "am Fitheach Dubh" in the Shadow of Tradition. There is no indication if this part of the story is derived from the oral tradition and if it originated in this story of John McGinnis or some similar story of the voyage.

support the emigrants over the winter. The Commander-in-Chief, General Hope informed Lt. Angus Macdonell on September 25 of his decision to supply the emigrants with provisions. Hope stated that since the Loyalists could not assist the new arrivals, "the very destitute and hopeless situation to which these poor misinformed Emigrants are...reduced is with me a sufficient motive...to adopt every measure in my power to save them from want, or from the Alternative of too severe Conditions being exacted by individuals who may contribute to their immediate relief."⁸⁰ The emigrants were to be given provisions until the next year's harvest; the ration consisted of a weekly allowance of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs potatoes, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs flat fish, $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs flour, and 2 lbs beef per adult. The total cost of the provisions was estimated at less than three pounds currency per adult, and this sum was to be repaid in two installments in October 1788 and 1789.

The emigrants left Quebec on September 3, 1786 with a fair wind for Montreal. An oral testimony describes their journey upriver and reaction to the new country:

The women and children were placed in batteaux and proceeded to make the toilsome journey to Montreal. The men walked. They came up probably on the north shore. Some French Canadians gave them cucumbers - the first time the highlanders saw that vegetable. Afterwards they came across green corn & pumpkins. Eating a large quantity of those they got diarrhea & some of them had to be carried.⁸¹

The emigrants expected to meet their friends from the new settlements at Lachine, on the west end of Montreal Island, where it was necessary to break their journey to avoid rapids on the St. Lawrence river.

80 PAC "S" Series. Reel C-3001, 9909-15. Copy of letter from Hope to Lt. McDonell, 25 Sept 1786. Copy of letter from Craigie to Delancey, 4 Sept 1786.

81 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook...Family I...Glengarry. R.S. no. 2.

They apparently spent several days here while colonial officials considered what assistance to give them. Shortly after General Hope wrote to their representative of his decision to provision them, the Highlanders left Lachine in government batteaux for the last segment of their journey. The emigrants finally reached Glengarry County in early October 1786.⁸²

(iv)

The fourth group of emigrants to settle in Glengarry County arrived from Western Inverness in 1790. Unlike the parties of 1785 and 1786 who were predominantly drawn from one or two neighbouring glens, the 1790 emigrants came from eight separate districts across Inverness-shire.⁸³ The island of Eigg contributed the largest number: 30 of the 87 passengers. Glengarry and Knoydart sent another eleven and four inhabitants respectively to the Canadian settlement in this migration. Six families of twenty-eight people came from the coastal districts of North Morar, Arisaig, Moidart and Ardgour, and nine of the emigrants left from South Uist eighty miles to the west. Within these districts, however, the emigrants generally came from the same farm. Thus all the Eigg people had lived in Cleadale, the Uist people in Frobost, the Glengarry people in Laggan, and the Arisaig people in Ardnafouran. Only the two families in North Morar came from separate farms, Roma and Burard.

Most of the 1790 emigrants travelled to Canada in family groups. Thirteen of the families on board ship had children of twelve years

82 O.A. Father Ewen J. Macdonald, Box 8, C-1-2. History of St. Raphaels, 17, Father John's family history.

83 Information concerning the 1790 emigrants is, unless otherwise stated, taken from the passenger list of the British Queen, the only pre-1800 passenger list to survive for Glengarry Co. settlers. It is found in C.O. 42/71, 82 (Reel B-48 in PAC).

and under, including two families composed of a single adult accompanied by a child. Another two groups of seven and four emigrants were most likely families with children over the age of twelve. Thus 79 of the 87 emigrants, or 91% of the party, came to Canada in family groups. The remaining eight passengers included four servants, one a child between six and eight years of age, and four single adults, three men and a woman.

* One of the striking characteristics of the 1790 emigration is the large number of young children in the party. Thirty-seven of the emigrants or 42.5% of the group were 12 years of age or under. Indeed there were ten passengers less than two years of age, equal to a babe in arms for each young, two-parent family. An estimate of the number of children among the 1786 emigrants has suggested that children under 13 years of age made up 46% of the McDonald's passengers. The more accurate figures available for the 1790 emigration, in which 42.5% of the emigrants were less than 13 years old indicates that the 1786 estimate was not implausible. It is particularly revealing to compare the percentage of children of twelve and under in the emigrant group to the percentage in the Scottish population as a whole. The 1790 percentage of 42.5, in contrast to 34% across Scotland, would therefore indicate that families with young children were somewhat over-represented among the emigrants to Glengarry County.

While the number of families and children of the 1790 emigrants is accurately known, little information survives as to the kinship network, if any, that existed among the emigrants. Given their fairly diverse geographic origins, one should not expect the 1790 emigrants to have as many kinsmen among their fellow passengers as did the emigrants of 1786. Donald McDonald was probably related to the Isabella

McDonald whose passage he paid. It is also probable that Lachlan and John McKinnon of Eigg, Donald and Allan McDonald of the same place, and Donald and John McAulay of Uist were at least cousins. Similarly, while none of the exact relationships are known, the 1790 emigrants were reported to have both "friends & relatives" in the new settlements.⁸⁴ Unlike the 1786 emigrants they could not be described as "chiefly McDonell's" since thirteen surnames occurred on the 1790 passenger list; yet one-quarter of this later group were still named McDonald.⁸⁵

Despite their varied points of origin, most of the 1790 emigrants were of roughly equal social origin within Highland society. The heads of fifteen emigrant families were listed as tenant farmers, while another two were smiths and one was a tailor. Craftsmen, in particular blacksmiths, shared the same status as tenants and all these were likely men of standing within their local communities. Peggy McDougal of Eigg, who travelled alone with a young child, was most likely a member of one of the tenant families from which the Eigg emigrants were exclusively drawn. Only four single emigrants were listed as servants and these likely came from the bottom level of traditional society. None of the emigrants, however, possessed much in the way of material resources and all shared a common religion, Roman Catholicism.⁸⁶

84 PAC "S" Series. Reel C-3006, 15916-8. Report to Lord Dorchester of the Committee appointed to look into the Emigrants lately arrived from Scotland, 31 Oct 1790.

85 PAC "S" Series. Reel C-3001, 9909-15. Letter from Craigie. The twelve surnames of the seventeen other families were McAulay, McKinnon, McMillan, Gilles, McCormick, McKay, Fraser, Campbell, McCraw, McDougall, McLellan and Henderson.

86 PAC "S" Series. Reel C-3006, 15916-8. Report to Dorchester. This states that all the emigrants were tenants except 4 men: 2 smiths, a taylor and a joiner. The passenger list for the British Queen (C.O. 42/71, 82) lists only the first three of these; perhaps the joiner was principally a farmer. Servants were generally people of lower social and economic status in Highland society. However the children of tenants also sometimes worked as servants but in the houses of the gentry, where a wider experience and perhaps a trade might be learned.

The fundamental reason given for the departure of the 1790 emigrants was their desire for land. Father James MacDonald of Eigg wrote that his people "...were obliged for want of lands..." to emigrate, and other observers made the same point. Bishop MacDonald knew that a shortage of land, especially fairly rented land, was common along the west coast and adjacent islands. He wrote that "a great number of poor people have no lands at all, and many of those who possess Lands, their possessions are so triffling & small, so high rented that they despair of making anything of a living from them."⁸⁷ Not just population pressures and a buoyant market economy contributed to this land crisis; in particular sheep farming, introduced to western Inverness after 1780, threatened the economic and social position of the tenant. A colonial committee appointed by the Governor of Quebec, Lord Dorchester, to investigate Highland emigration to Canada neatly summed up the dilemma faced by the tenants:

That they are industrious people & lived on small farms which they rented at Arasaig and the Island of Egg containing about 50 acres each more or less: that the proprietors of those lands able to procure higher rents than those people could afford to pay, found it their interest to throw those small Farms into grazing grounds, letting a number of them together to one responsible person from whom he can collect his rent with ease & certainty.⁸⁸

At the same time as tenants were being deprived of land, and social change was transforming the Highlands, 200 acre land grants were freely given emigrants who settled in Canada. News of the new Highland community there and the farms given to the Loyalist, Glengarry, and Knoydart emigrants was well-known in western Inverness.

87 SCA Blairs Papers, James MacDonald, 12 Oct 1790. *Ibid.*, Bishop A. MacDonald, 5 March 1790.

88 PAC "S" Series. Reel C-3006, 15917. Report to Dorchester.

Such reports provided the tenants with an alternative to the increasing struggle to keep their farms and pay the rent: "Having heard from their friends & relatives settled in the upper parts of this Province [Quebec] that upon removing to this Country they would be able to obtain portions of the waste lands of the Crown contiguous to them, they were glad to embark for Canada." The comment that the 1790 emigrants were glad to leave for Canada was made several times; the parish priest of Eigg, Father James MacDonald, reported that the people were "ready to embark with great cheerfulness." Father MacDonald explained:

...Not that they wanted to leave their native Country for which they have here (especially the commonality) a blind attachment but they were overjoyed at the thought that providence would procure for them in another Corner of the world, that relief and help, that was refused to them in their own Country.⁸⁹

Faced with unpalatable economic and social change in their homeland, the 1790 emigrants choose to join the people of neighbouring districts in Canada where land was freely available for Highlanders to build a community of their own liking.

The journey from Scotland to Canada was a formidable one, with many obstacles in the way of the would-be emigrant: the small party that arrived in Quebec in 1790 did not include all those who had intended to leave the Highlands that year. In early March it was reported that 88 people from the island of Eigg had signed to emigrate to America.⁹⁰ Two months later Father Alexander MacDonald of Keppoch, Arisaig wrote that "There is a great emigration to America...there are about 400 persons designing to emigrate from this coast and the

89 SCA Blairs Papers, James MacDonald, 12 Oct 1790.

90 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 5 March 1790.

Small Islands for Canada and the Island of St. Johns....⁹¹ Yet only thirty people from Eigg and a total of 87 Highlanders reached Canada in October of that year; none arrived at St. John's Island. A dramatic event that occurred during the summer months had with tragic consequences reduced the number of emigrants for Canada. Father James MacDonald told the story in bleak detail:

...at the information of some malicious people, a King's Ship was ordered to the Coast at the time of Emigration to impress every one fit for service. this frightened the Emigrants so much that few of them went off. Such as were afraid of being obliged to part with their families, so that after losing the half of their freight and some of them more, they remained in the Country without Lands, Cattle, Crop, houses fireing or even work.⁹²

The exact course of events in western Inverness in the summer of 1790 is not known, but Father James' account of the naval press gang explains why relatively few emigrants reached Quebec that year when other writers had reliably forecast a much larger emigration.

As in the emigration from Knoydart in 1786, it was a Highland gentleman who made the actual arrangements for the journey of the 1790 emigrants. Miles Macdonell, the son of Spanish John, returned to Scotland presumably some time in 1789, though whether this return was with the intention of organizing an emigration to Canada is not known. Whatever his purpose in visiting the Highlands, by 5th March 1790 it was reported that "Capt. Miles MacDonell opened a subscription lately in the Island of Eigg where 88 subscribed for America; he is to do the same in the different Countries on the west Coast here

91 SCA Blairs Papers, Alex. MacDonald, Senr., 11 May 1790.

92 There is no indication of whom the "malicious people" that gave information were; it is possible to wonder if some landlord, sorely threatened by an overly large loss of tenants and labour, was responsible. SCA Blairs Papers, James MacDonald, 12 Oct 1790.

where...he shall meet with the like success."⁹³ Without further evidence, it is impossible to assess the exact nature of Miles Macdonell's involvement in the 1790 emigration. However, while it is apparent that he played a significant role in organizing the emigration in 1790, it is equally clear that interest in emigration predated his arrival in Inverness-shire. Perhaps it would be accurate to suggest that without Miles' administrative support somewhat fewer people would have emigrated, and that with Miles' guidance the 1790 party was directed not towards Pictou or St. Johns' Island, but towards the more expensive destination, Canada.

In spite of fears of the press gang, 87 emigrants boarded the British Queen and sailed from Arisaig on 16th August 1790.⁹⁴ The ship reached Quebec in mid-October and the day following their arrival, Miles Macdonell petitioned the Governor of Quebec on behalf of the emigrants. The petition explained that the Highlanders had been:

...necessitated to leave their own Country from the Oppression of their Landlords but still wished to be under the British Government, they are in such a distressed Situation that few of them had nothing after paying their passage and must inevitably Starve this Winter unless some Provision shall be made for them. They wish to go up above Montreal where many of their Countrymen, who arrived here Passengers four years ago, are already settled.⁹⁵

The emigrants asked to be granted land on the same terms as were given to the 1786 settlers. On October 20th before the colonial government could reply to this request, Miles submitted a second

93 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop A. MacDonald, 5 March 1790.

94 PAC Reel B-48: C.O. 42/71, 82. List of passengers per British Queen.

95 PAC Reel B-48: C.O. 42/71, 83-6. 1st Petition of Miles Macdonell.

petition asking for five or six batteaux and four weeks provisions for the emigrants to enable them to join their friends in the new settlements. If this assistance was not granted, the emigrants would take up the advantageous offer made by P.L. Panet of land on his Seigneury in the District of Montreal.⁹⁶

The colonial government was disturbed by this arrival of a second party of distressed Highlanders at Quebec. It was estimated that the twenty families from the British Queen had no more than £200 among them. Lord Dorchester requested his executive council to form a committee to inquire into the circumstances of the Eigg emigration and the "...Course that was to be pursued on the late emigrations from the Highlands of Scotland into this Province and the expenses thereby incurred."⁹⁷ The Committee concluded that since emigration was not good for the Mother Country, Highland emigration should be discouraged, but that industrious persons from foreign countries would be a valuable acquisition. Nonetheless, the committee approved immediately the October 20th petition requesting transportation up-river for the emigrants; Dorchester accepted his committee's recommendation and ordered boats to be provided for the emigrants. The governor explained this action to the Colonial Secretary by pointing out that the emigrants had been in danger of starving over the winter, and by sending them to join their Countrymen, Dorchester prevented "their becoming a burden to the public, or to the Crown."⁹⁸ The family of John Ban McGillis stayed in Lower Canada for six years before

96 PAC Reel B-48: C.O. 42/71, 83-6 2nd petition, 20th Oct 1790.

97 PAC "S" Series. Reel C-3006, 15916-8. Report to Dorchester.

98 PAC Reel B-48, C.O. 42/72, 57-8, Dorchester to Grenville, 10 Nov 1790.

coming to the Glengarry settlement, but the remaining emigrants travelled up the St. Lawrence in government batteaux shortly after Oct. 20th.⁹⁹ The story of the Eigg emigration was preserved and in 1884 James Duncan Macdonald, aged 92, recalled that the emigrants of 1790 "endured great hardships," for they "arrived in the autumn late."¹⁰⁰

(v)

Several other substantial groups of emigrants arrived in Glengarry County from the west Highlands in the early 1790s. The principal migrations were led by Alexander Macdonell of Greenfield and Alexander McMillan in 1792 and by Alexander McLeod in 1793. Little information about these emigrations survives, but it is possible to piece together a description of the emigrants and their experience.

The best-known of the 1792 emigrants is Alexander Macdonell of Greenfield. Greenfield was a second cousin of the Glengarry chief and thus related in varying degrees to the other gentlemen of the clan. Alexander and his father Angus Greenfield were close friends of the post-Culloden MacDonell chiefs, and helped in the re-organization of the heavily encumbered Glengarry estate in the 1760s and 1770s.¹⁰¹ It seems probable that this close relationship, in particular with Duncan McDonell, protected both the economic and social interests of the Greenfield Macdonells. Unlike most of the other Macdonell gentlemen whose traditional role and income had been seriously eroded after 1745, the Greenfields had little reason to consider emigration in 1773 or 1785 when large groups left Glen Garry.

99 PAC Reel C-2203, UCLP M13 (1816-22) no. 131.

100 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook: 1st page blank, James Duncan Macdonald.

101 SRO GD44/25/28. Estimate of Glengarry's Estate made out by Mr. MacDonald Younger of Greenfield in Dec 1768.

By 1792, however, events on the Glengarry estate had somewhat altered the Greenfields' secure position. Duncan McDonell died in 1788, and since his heir Alexander was under age, Duncan's widow Margery administered the estate until 1792. Margery Grant was generally disliked by the tenants, and certainly possessed none of the attachment to clan tradition that her husband and son were expected to share.¹⁰² After 1782, sheep farming rapidly transformed the agriculture and society of the Glengarry estate; it is not clear if Greenfield then retained possession of the farms he had previously rented, or if he was forced to pay a rent equivalent to the sums offered by the sheep farmers. It seems quite probable that Greenfield's decision to emigrate was the result of some such loss of the chief's favour and a considerable drop in the family's economic and social prospects. The presence of a large number of kinsmen in the new Glengarry in Upper Canada must also have influenced Greenfield's action. The Scotus family, Spanish John, Miles and Father Alexander, were second cousins, and the Aberchalder, Collachie and Leek families more distant fifth cousins. A closer relationship had been established between the Greenfield and Aberchalder Macdonells by marriage: in 1769 Alexander had married Janet, the eldest daughter of Alexander of Aberchalder. Although his wife died in 1788, Alexander Greenfield came to Canada in 1792 accompanied by their nine children, joining his prominent in-laws in the Glengarry settlement.¹⁰³

A persistent Glengarry tradition suggests that Macdonell of Greenfield led a group of Highlanders to Canada when he emigrated in

102 Charles Fraser-Macintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 124-5.

103 PAC MG30 C22. Address by A. McLean Macdonell to U.E.L. Assoc. Feb. 14, 1924: Family history of Col. John Macdonell, Greenfield. In 1792 Alexander Greenfield's brother-in-law, John Macdonell of Aberchalder had just been elected MP and Speaker of the 1st House of Assembly in the new Province of Upper Canada.

1792. A descendant, J.A. Macdonell, stated in his Sketches of Glengarry in Canada that Greenfield "brought with him, I believe, a number of the people of his clan."¹⁰⁴ The leader of a later emigration, Alexander McLeod, named Macdonell of Greenfield as one of several men who had led a group of emigrants to Glengarry County.¹⁰⁵ Thus, while the fact that Greenfield was the leader of an emigration seems quite well established, the number and identity of the emigrants, except that they were his clansmen, is not widely known.

Another man, however, also seems to have been instrumental in organizing an emigration to Glengarry County in 1792. Alexander McMillan served as a lieutenant in DeLancey's Brigade, a British unit embodied during the American Revolution. McMillan claimed in a land petition dated 1797 that he "...came to this Province in the Year 1793 [sic] and brought with him a number of Emigrants from Scotland, who, with himself, have become settlers" in Glengarry County.¹⁰⁶ McMillan may indeed have led an emigrant group to Canada, but it is highly unlikely that it was in 1793. In meetings held in March and April 1793, the Land Board of Glengarry and Stormont Counties recommended a grant of 1000 acres of land to Alexander McMillan, late lieutenant in DeLancey's Brigade. McMillan and the large group of Scottish emigrants who received 200 acre grants at the same time had clearly reached Glengarry before the Board held its meeting, most likely in the autumn of 1792 before the close of navigation.¹⁰⁷

104 J.A. Macdonell, Sketches of Glengarry in Canada, 131.

105 Clan MacLeod Society of Glengarry, The MacLeods of Glengarry. (Iroquois, Ont., 1971), 59.

106 PAC Reel C-2193: UCLP M4 (1793-9), no. 200.

107 PAC RG1 L4 vol. 15, 6. Reel C-14028. A comparison of the dates of land grants and of the arrival of emigrants reveals that those who arrived in the autumn of one year almost always received land that winter or the following spring. The names of the 1790 emigrants can be found in a December 1790 list of applicants who were granted land: PAC RG1 L4 vol. 10, 107a.

These men, Greenfield and McMillan, did not organize two separate migrations, but rather jointly organized a single emigration.¹⁰⁸

In late September 1792, the Quebec Gazette reported that the ship Unity had docked at Quebec after a nine week voyage from Greenock with forty families of Highland emigrants bound for Upper Canada.¹⁰⁹

On November 6th of that year, the Chairman of the Eastern District Land Board ordered surveyor Hugh Macdonell to lay out land suitable for settlement by twenty-seven or more families of Highland emigrants.

Evidence found in Land Board grants indicates that some forty Highlanders applied for land in Glengarry and Stormont counties in the spring of 1793.¹¹⁰

Of the 122 people who were granted the standard 200 acres of land, 44 applicants were described as emigrants from Scotland. Thirty-six of the Scottish emigrants were listed consecutively, a few of whom may have emigrated before 1792, while the remaining eight Scots were scattered among the Loyalist and other applicants.¹¹¹ Of the thirty-six Scottish emigrants, the seven McDonells and two McIntoshes were likely from Glengarry, and the eight McGillises from there or North Morar, previously part of the Glengarry estate. These families might have followed the lead of Macdonell of Greenfield. The eleven McMillan, three McPhie and one Cameron families were likely from Loch Arkaigside on the Lochiel estate, though a few may have been from Glengarry; these people may have come under the leadership of Alexander McMillan, a younger son of the Glenpean tacksman.

108 P.A.O. Father Ewen Macdonald Coll. A-3-2. Genealogical notes.

109 Quebec Gazette, September 27, 1792.

110 P.A.O. RG1 A-1-1, vol. 49, 88. Richard Duncan, 6 Nov 1792. PAC RG1 L4 vol. 15, 1-6. Reel C-14028.

111 One of the Scottish applicants, Lauchlin Campbell, emigrated in 1790 with the Eigg emigrants, PAC Reel B-48 C042/71, 82. List of emigrants.

Like earlier emigrants to Glengarry County, the 1792 people travelled in family groups. They also came either from a district that had previously sent a considerable number of people to Upper Canada, Glengarry, or from a clan, the McMillans, which had several of its members already in the new county. Clearly the Glengarry colony was sufficiently well established, with several hundred Highland families and these chiefly from a single region, that it had itself become an important factor in people's decision to emigrate. The people led by Macdonell and McMillan likely faced the same economic and social problems that had led earlier emigrants to Canada, but by 1792, emigrants made their decision to leave knowing that they were going to an established Highland community.

A second emigration from western Inverness followed quickly on the heels of the Macdonell-McMillan party of 1792. The next year Kenneth McLeod and his son Alexander, commonly known as Capt. Alexander, organized the emigration of some 150 people.¹¹² Kenneth McLeod was a tacksman and had held the farm of Upper Maoile and Killismore in Glenelg. Many of the other families in the 1793 group were also from Glenelg but some came from Glenmoriston, Strathglass and Knoydart.¹¹³ It seems likely that the 1793 emigrants can be identified with some of the 40 Highlanders who received land grants in Glengarry County on 25th June 1794. Twelve McLeods formed the largest element of this group, yet there were six McGillivray, six Macdonell, four Ferguson, two McLennan and two Grant heads of family.¹¹⁴

112 Clan MacLeod, MacLeods of Glengarry, 35-6, 58. The number of emigrants is not at all certain: in 1837 McLeod stated that he had brought 150. His son, John McLeod told J.A. Macdonell that there were 40 families in the party, (Sketches, 133). Yet other sources (see following text and footnotes) variously report 115 and 93 emigrants.

113 Clan MacLeod, MacLeods of Glengarry, 58.

114 P.A.O. Crown Land Dept. Locations in the Eastern District, 1794, C-1-4, vol. 9. Also PAC UCLP C2 (1796-7) Donald Campbell, no. 2, Reel C-1647. UCLP M Misc. (1792-1816) Kenneth McLennan no. 21, Reel C-2189. Another five men who received land that day may have been part of the McLeod emigration, they were a McPhee, Murchison, Campbell, McKay, McLore.

Many of the 1793 families must have been related to at least one or two other families in the emigrant group or in the new Glengarry settlement. The family of Kenneth McLeod, Fear na Maoile, can be traced in some detail, and this reveals a kinship network embracing both the emigrant party and the Glengarry settlers. On the voyage to Canada Kenneth McLeod travelled with his adult children, Capt. Alexander, Norman, Mary and Christine; Capt. Alexander, who was a young widower of 25, was accompanied by his three small sons. The McLeods were related to the prominent Macdonell families of Glengarry County. The wife of a late seventeenth century Glengarry chief was a McLeod, and hence Kenneth McLeod was a second cousin of the Macdonell chief and the Greenfield Macdonells. Captain Alexander's wife, who died in 1793, was also a Macdonell, by tradition a sister of Bishop Macdonell of Kingston and Allan Macdonell, leader of the 1785 emigration.¹¹⁵ The other emigrants may not have had such prominent connections but most of the party, especially those from Knoydart and Glenmoriston, likely had friends and relatives already in Glengarry County.

The kinship network that linked Highlanders in Scotland and Canada was a factor that contributed to the spread of emigration. Still, the reasons behind the 1793 emigration to Glengarry County were a complex combination of sheep and rents, as well as kinship. In the Statistical Account for Glenelg the parish minister, Colin MacIver, attempted to explain why so many of his parishioners had emigrated:

Emigration is thought to be owing in a great measure to the introduction of sheep, as one man often rents a farm where formerly many families lived com-

115 Clan MacLeod, MacLeods of Glengarry, 37, 63-4, 66.

fortably; & if the rage for this mode of farming goes on with the same rapidity it has done for some years back, it is to be apprehended emigration will still increase. But this is not solely the cause; the high rents demanded by landlords, the increase of population, & the flattering accounts received from their friends in America, do also contribute to the evil.¹¹⁶

The introduction of sheep farming, then, brought the tenants' situation to a crisis when added to the already increased burden of higher rents and more people. A number of the Glenelg tenants responded to these changes with a group emigration.¹¹⁷ The 1793 emigrants to Glengarry County, like other West Highland groups of the preceeding ten years, were tenants who chose to emigrate in response to the destruction of traditional economic and social life.

The events that occurred during the departure of the emigrants in 1793 and their voyage to Canada were described in a petition written by Capt. Alexander McLeod in 1837.¹¹⁸ McLeod submitted the petition to the Governor of Upper Canada hoping to be rewarded, as others had been, with a 1000 acre grant of land for his role in bringing settlers to Canada. Unfortunately this account of the emigration, written forty-four years after the event, is not always completely substantiated by other sources; however, the principal facts of the emigration can be reliably extracted from it. When McLeod decided to leave Scotland, he recruited 150 Highlanders to accompany him to America and Captain Alexander made two trips to Greenock to charter a ship for the emigrants' use. The vessel arrived on 12th June 1793 at Culreagh in Glenelg where a rendezvous

116 O.S.A., Glenelg, vol. 16 (1795), 265-74.

117 N.S.A., Glenelg, vol. IX, 135-6.

118 PAC UCLP MC21 (1837-9) no. 46: Reel C-2139. Quoted in MacLeods of Glengarry, 58-60.

had been set for the passengers; both people and baggage were boarded immediately and the group sailed on June 15.

The emigrants' journey to America was plagued by bad weather. As the ship approached the half way point in the Atlantic crossing, a terrible storm damaged her and drove her back to Greenock "rather than run the risk of perishing at sea by prosecuting the voyage." After a fortnight's wait in Greenock, a second vessel was provided for the emigrants by the owners of the damaged ship and they again set sail. The brig "had not been out more than 4 days when a heavy squall of wind carried away her upper Masts and Sails"; once more the emigrants returned to Scotland, this time to Lamlash, where a three day wait saw the brig repaired. The third time the McLeod emigrants set sail for America they at last arrived "on the 1st of next November....during a Severe snow storm and excessively cold weather off Prince Edward Island." Tradition adds that ice lay a foot deep on the ship's deck.

Since the St. Lawrence was closed to shipping for the winter, Capt. Alexander and his party spent the next six months in Charlottetown. During that period, McLeod "proceeded to the South side of the island and engaged a large Schooner owned by some Canadians to carry his Settlers early in next Summer to Quebec."¹¹⁹ The Schooner arrived at Charlottetown in late May, and on June 3rd, 1794, the Simon Gallon reached Quebec after a ten day voyage. The Quebec Gazette announced the arrival of "Mr. M'Cloud & family with 115 men, women and children", and mentioned their long journey and its

119 MacLeods of Glengarry, 27, 58-9.

delays.¹²⁰ The Highlanders petitioned the colonial government for assistance to complete their passage to Upper Canada and received fourteen days' provisions by order of Lord Dorchester. The emigrants travelled by schooner to Montreal, and then by military batteaux they finished the last sixty miles of their journey to River Raisin in Glengarry County.¹²¹

(vi)

The Highland emigrants who reached Glengarry County between 1785 and 1794 formed a remarkably homogeneous community. They shared the same language and brought the same cultural baggage, a similar social status and family links from neighbouring glens. Unlike many parts of Upper Canada that received mixed proportions of English, Scots, Highland and Irish emigrants, Glengarry County by 1794 had clearly taken on the character of a Highland preserve. Thirty-five years later, one John MacTaggart warned prospective emigrants, of what had already been true in 1794, "Go not to Glengarry, if you be not a Highlandman."¹²²

Each of the five emigrant groups to reach Glengarry County between 1785 and 1794 was largely composed of tenant families. Tenants

120 Quebec Gazette, 5 June 1794. One week later the Quebec Gazette reported that a second schooner from PEI had landed with 42 passengers. Could these have also been Highland emigrants and part of the McLeod party? McLeod mentions only one schooner in his petition (PAC UCLP MC21, 1837-39, no. 46, Reel C-2139) and claims to have boarded "all" his emigrants on it. On the other hand, the combined number of passengers on the two schooners more closely approximates McLeod's claim to have brought 150 people to Canada.

121 PAC RG4 A3 vol. 3, no. 19. Kenneth McLeod (Capt. Alexander's father) petitioned on behalf of his own family and 93 others. Some 22 (of 115 named by the Quebec Gazette) or 57 (of 150 named in the 1837 petition) emigrants were seemingly not included. MacLeods of Glengarry, 59.

122 John MacTaggart, Three Years in Canada, (London, 1829) 193.

equalled perhaps 30% of the Highland population and the great majority of settlers in Glengarry were drawn from this limited sector of the Highland community. The five emigrant parties were all linked by family ties. Although the degree varied from one group to another, kinship joined both the members of individual parties, and those already settled in Glengarry. Similarly the five groups can all in some manner be viewed as community emigrations. Most prominent in this regard is the 1786 party of 500 people predominantly from Knoydart and North Morar, but the 1785 and 1792, 1790, and 1793 emigrations were to a lesser extent community migrations from Glengarry, Eigg, and Glenelg.

One of the striking similarities marking these five emigrations was the organizational leadership provided by clan gentlemen. Father Alexander Scotus, Miles and Greenfield Macdonell were closely related to their clan chief, while Lieut. Angus McDonell, Alex. McLeod and Alex. McMillan were established tacksmen. While less is known about Allan Macdonell, he too, like his brother Bishop Alexander Macdonell of Kingston, was a distant cousin of the Glengarry chief. Because of their social position, these men possessed the organizational skills and financial expertise needed for the planning of a community emigration. The pressures in favour of emigration were so great that the small tenants would have emigrated without this assistance, but their departure was clearly smoothed by the gentlemen's leadership. The emigrants who came to Glengarry County between 1785 and 1794 did so in the company of some of their traditional leaders, reinforcing the conservative, hierarchial quality of the original, Loyalist settlement.

Another similar pattern in these emigrations is the apparent loss of a proportion of the emigrants between their arrival at Quebec

and settlement in Glengarry. By the time they reached Glengarry, some 150 people were missing from the 1785 party, 185 from the 1786 group, one family from 1790, and possibly 50 emigrants from the 1793 voyage. A large part of this apparent wastage may be due to inconsistencies in the documentary sources. Canadian emigration records surviving from that period are fragmentary at best, and contradictions or inaccuracies in the reported numbers of emigrants are almost inevitable.

Nonetheless, there is proof that some Highlanders from these five parties remained in Lower Canada. While a definitive analysis of these detached families cannot be made, the available information suggests that the principal cause of their failure to go on to Glengarry was financial. The Highland tenants who made up these emigrant parties possessed little more than the bare minimum needed to pay their passage to Canada. £10 seems a fair estimate of the average sum each family carried off the boat.¹²³ Some families were thus very short of cash and vulnerable to financial difficulties, particularly if the voyage was delayed or extended as in 1785 and 1793. Labour was scarce, and hence well-paid, in the new colony, and seigneurial landowners were eager to acquire tenants for their properties. A considerable number of families, detached from the main emigrant parties in this fashion, did ultimately settle in Glengarry County. Without more detailed statistics and information about those emigrants who stopped or stayed in Lower Canada, the precise reasons for their action cannot be assessed. However, it seems likely that the great majority of the 1785-1794 emigrants did settle in Glengarry County.

123 See section (iv) of this chapter; the 1790 emigrants do not seem unrepresentative.

Finally the decision taken to emigrate by the five parties that came to Glengarry County between these nine years was motivated by essentially the same complex balance of social and economic circumstances. The large increase of population that occurred across western Inverness, and that was particularly evident in Knoydart after 1755, strained the traditional Highland economy. While tenants reaped some benefit from the agricultural improvements of the second half of the eighteenth century, their social and economic position was completely undercut by the introduction of sheep farming at the end of the century. The solution chosen to this deteriorating situation by many tenants was emigration. The tenants' choice and the manner in which it was carried out revealed a continuing commitment to traditional Gaelic values of land and community. The tenants chose not to accept the status of crofters and thereby give up their right to a farm, and they chose not to migrate to the cities or to work in rural industries and thereby give up life with the kin group and their right to land. Instead the tenants preferred to emigrate with their kin and neighbours to Upper Canada where land for all was freely available. Of fundamental importance in understanding these emigrations is the fact that "where emigration occurred, ...it was not inevitable."¹²⁴ By the end of the eighteenth century, the tenants of western Inverness were well aware of the more limited future that would be theirs on the new sheep farms. Lord Selkirk commented on their preference for emigration, asking: Are "the tenants so blind as to perceive no danger till they are overwhelmed? The fate of their friends and neighbours is a sufficient warning of that which they must sooner or later expect."¹²⁵ After the resettlement

124 Margaret Adams, "The Causes of Highland Emigration, 1783-1803".

125 Thomas Douglas Selkirk, Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, (1969), 52.

of the Loyalist Highlanders in Glengarry County, emigration to Canada offered the tenants a choice in keeping with traditional values of land and kinship. Between 1785 and 1794 many western Inverness tenants chose to emigrate to Glengarry County.

Chapter 9

The Peace of Amiens Emigrants

(i)

By 1793 agricultural reform and emigration had made significant inroads on the traditional society and economy of western Inverness. The demography of the region had been altered both by the departures to America and by the introduction of sheep farming. Substantial emigrant parties had left Glengarry, Knoydart, Glenelg, and Glenmoriston for Upper Canada and had gone from Arisaig to Nova Scotia in the ten years preceeding 1793. Extensive sheep walks had been developed on the Glengarry estate and introduced in Glenelg in the same period. Traditional joint farms had either been severely restricted, if not eliminated, by such improvements, or were exceedingly hard pressed to match the high rents offered by graziers. Communities were broken apart by emigration and by removals, but the bonds of community were very strong in the decimated groups that remained and linked the survivors with those who had left the Highlands for America.

The most radical change had occurred on the Glengarry estate where agricultural reform and widespread emigration in the 1780s had transformed McDonnell's property. By June 1789, the Glengarry parish priest, Ranald McDonald, spoke of the depopulation of the farms along the river Garry. He pointed out that:

I have not one of my hearers within three miles of me, or the meeting house & they are so scattered & in so precarious a Situation that there is no following them. Where the bulk of them is this year, there will not be one perhaps next year. Besides the village of Fort Augustus to the environs of which, the best part of them

have flock'd, is not a place that I would
much like to live in....¹

Within a few years of the evictions of 1785, and the emigrations of the same year and the year following, the remaining Macdonell clansmen were set adrift from the traditional farm communities of Glen Garry. The destruction of these communities, evident in 1789, was a pattern which was to be repeated on other estates across the West Highlands in succeeding years.

The precarious state of the clansmen still living in the Highlands after such changes was evident to all concerned, with the exception of the landlords who were too often blinded by self-interest. There were frequent reports of the "reduced situation of the people" and it was agreed that a farm was "no object by the great rise of Rents, but rather threatens ruin." In Glengarry where the clansmen's situation seems to have been the most desperate, Father Ranald predicted that the urban clergy would "soon have the greatest part of the Catholics [from] here in Edin & Glasgow, as they have by continued oppression, sunk to such poverty, as to put it out of their power to Emigrate."² The Glenelg minister of a later generation looked back on this period and pointed out the increasing poverty of his parishioners. After the emigrations of 1773 and 1793,

The population which remained consisted of those who were too poor to follow, & of a few others, who, willing to forego some advantages for the privilege of residing in their much loved native land, tried to content themselves with sadly reduced possessions....[But they found] that thus they were losing their all....³

1 SCA Blairs Papers, Ranald McDonald, 23 June 1789.

2 *Ibid.* Also Archibald McRa, 4 March 1794.

3 *NSA*. vol. IX, Glenelg, 136. The loss of traditional grazing to shepherds threatened dispossessed tenants with the forced sale of their cattle. Cattle were the clansmen's only significant capital resource, and once the cattle were sold and the money from the sale spent, for whatever purpose, the clansmen were virtually without the means of financing a passage to Canada.

By 1793 the prospects for clansmen living in the west Highlands were bleak indeed.

The clansmen's loyalty to their landlord-chiefs shifted very slowly even under the pressure of such economic and social change. Those families who managed to hold on to their joint farms, and even those who accepted smaller holdings, still looked on their chief with paternal respect. In February 1793, the small tenants of Knoydart described themselves in a petition asking for Glengarry's support against the encroachments of sheep farmers as "the antient tenants of Glengarry in the country of Knoydart, and the remains of the former inhabitants." The small tenants believed that their age-old ties with Glengarry entitled them to his favour. They wrote with deeply felt emotion:

...we would not choose to complain of them in the tone of incomers or intruders, though we were the first servants, and guardians of the family, if they behave discreetly to any of, [us] particularly some others intermixed with them. But these grievances are such as scarcely one brother would bear from another.⁴

Even after ten years of removals and emigrations, the Glengarry tenants believed that their faithful adherence to the McDonell family should ensure them traditional support from their chief.

The outbreak of war with France in 1793 significantly altered the priorities of Highland landowners, and self-interest brought the chiefs to support their clansmen and provide them with farms once more. Highland chiefs had traditionally been able to recruit men for military service from their own estates. The introduction of sheep farming limited this practice since many clansmen had left or been removed from the estates, and those who remained felt little

4 Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 2nd Series, 134-5.

inclined to risk their lives if their farms might soon be taken from them. To aid recruiting therefore, the removal of tenant farmers so as to consolidate farms or develop sheep walks slowed radically after 1793. In 1805 Lord Selkirk described the impact that the war with revolutionary France had on Highland estates:

...the great demand for men during the late war, and the uncommon advantages that accrued to those gentlemen who still had the means of influencing their tenantry, suspended for a time the extension of sheep-farming, and the progress of the advance of rents. Many estates which were ripe for the changes that have since been made, and which, if peace had not been interrupted, would have been let to graziers seven or eight years earlier, remained for a time, in the hands of the small tenants.⁵

Highland tenants had traditionally paid for their farms with military service to the chief as well as with a modest cash rent. The relatively low level of rents at the time of the '45 and the numerous clan regiments deployed then give an indication of the survival of this custom into the eighteenth century. Although the relationship between chief and clansman became commercial rather than paternal over the fifty years following 1745, the tradition of military service survived. Father Alexander Macdonell explained the practice as it existed in 1794:

...the plan of recruiting adopted by men of property in the Highlands is to give a promise of a small pendicle of land for every recruit. Thus when a son, a brother, or a nephew is required to enlist, the father, the Brother or Brothers, & the uncle's family are secured in their small farms during the soldier's absence, & by this means every one that leaves the country secures bread for generally half a dozen in it.⁶

5 Selkirk, Observations, 71.

6 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell, 12 Feb 1794. The author later served as chaplain to the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, emigrated to Canada and became the first Bishop of Kingston.

When war was declared in 1793 and recruiting parties came once more to the Highlands, the clansmen were prepared to support their chief's military ambitions but only if the expected payment of land for their families was made.

Emigration to Canada slowed to a trickle during the war years, 1793 to 1801, and this was not simply the result of government restrictions or of the demand for manpower. The recruiting practices of Highland landlords dried up the number of emigrants in two ways. Landlords severely curtailed further rent increases and the introduction of sheep farms; the large number of small tenants thereby secured in their farms chose not to emigrate. Secondly a minority of the dispossessed were offered farms once more, if they provided recruits for the landlords' regiments: these clansmen too would not emigrate. The enthusiastic competition for men to form Highland regiments had a dramatic impact on the rate of emigration to Canada.

The raising of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment provides a good example of the way that traditional loyalties, landlord ambitions, and tenant preferences combined to create a military unit and, temporarily, halt emigration. During these years the Fencibles were recruited in Scotland for home defence freeing regiments of the line for overseas duty.⁷ The declaration of war in 1793 had, as always, caught Great Britain desperately short of trained soldiers. On March 2, 1793 orders were issued to raise seven regiments of Fencible Infantry in Scotland: among these was a Highland regiment to be commanded by Sir James Grant. In October and November 1794 fear of a French invasion led to the creation of a further 20 battalions of Fencible Infantry in Scotland, including the Glengarry Fencible Regiment.

7 Fencible regiments were created in the place of militia in Scotland; only in 1797 was a militia law passed for Scotland. Hon. John W. Fortescue, History of the British Army, vol. IV, pt. 1 (New York, 1899-1930), 83.

The organization of the Glengarry Regiment was initiated not by the government but rather by the efforts of the Macdonell chief and his clansmen. In 1793 the Glengarry chief, Alexander McDonell had been given the command of a company in the newly formed Grant Fencibles. However, over the following winter, the idea of a separate Glengarry regiment gained support. Alexander McDonell attained the age of majority in 1794 and his ambition of imitating the heroic deeds of his ancestors was given free rein. McDonell knew that his grandfather had brought out two regiments for the Prince; his confident Father Macdonell observed that:

...the nursery of all that number of brave men is now occupied by five or six strange individuals[.]...most of their leases will be out in a year or two when GlenG...might provide lands for every man in the regt., & as soon as he has it in his power he says he'll show to the whole world that he prefers men to sheep.⁸

Truly, thus spoke Fergus MacIvor.

The animating spirit behind the Glengarry Regiment was Father Alexander Macdonell, known as the "chaplain" because of his service in that capacity with the regiment. Macdonell had no illusions about Highland chiefs: "Our Highland Lairds are more, I do believe, than any other set of men upon the face of the earth actuated by self-interest." But Father Alexander believed that such self-interest could be turned to the advantage of the Highland tenants. Since those landlords who wished to recruit a regiment had either to preserve the farms of their small tenants or re-introduce such holdings, the chiefs' military ambition and patriotism was to be encouraged to find this military outlet. Father Macdonell also had religious interests in mind when he urged the creation of a Glengarry regiment. Virtually

8 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell, 12 February 1794.

all Glengarry's tenants were Roman Catholics, and their priest hoped that ardent support of the war effort would result in a more favourable relationship between the British government and the Catholic church and its members.⁹

Father Macdonell, though posted at the Roman Catholic mission in Glasgow, visited the Highlands for seven weeks in 1793. It was most likely during this period that the notion of a Glengarry Fencible regiment was first given serious consideration. On 26th February 1794 a public meeting held at Fort William unanimously supported the formation of a Catholic Fencible regiment under the command of Alexander McDonell.¹⁰ The chaplain and the Glengarry chief proceeded in April to London where they spent several months lobbying for the regiment. As late as May 1794, Father Alexander reported that ties between the Duchess of Gordon and the Dundasses, and the Grants' attempts to influence Lord Amherst, had created a prejudice against Glengarry's regiment. Yet by August 14 the urgent need for men overwhelmed political considerations and Alexander McDonell was given a letter of service to raise the Glengarry Fencible Regiment.¹¹

If the Glengarry Regiment satisfied the valorous ambitions of the chief and the pastoral concerns of the chaplain, it also met certain needs and traditional expectations of the tenants. Many of McDonell's clansmen enlisted in Grant's Fencibles only for the opportunity of serving in McDonell's company. The McDonells had not been happy under the leadership of the Grants and had been prominent among the mutineers who refused to march for England in March 1794.¹²

9 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell, 12 February 1794.

10 Rev. Alex. MacWilliam, "The Glasgow Mission, 1792-1799", Innes Review, vol. 4, no. 2 (1953), 87-8.

11 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell, May 1794. Also Hon. John Fortescue, History of the British Army. vol. V, 943.

12 John Prebble, Mutiny, Penguin Books: London, 1977, 303-313.

When Glengarry was given permission to raise his own Fencible Regiment, his clansmen exchanged en masse to the new unit. The 72 sergeants, corporals and privates took advantage of the permission given by the British government for soldiers to transfer into the new regiments because it was their "most earnest desire and ardent wish to follow you to any part of the earth his Majesty may order." These men discounted the bounties and other similar inducements offered by government and emphasized that it was their traditional loyalty to the chief that brought them to enlist. No matter how well-treated they were by other officers, the Macdonell clansmen considered that "our minds can never be content separated from you; our foreFathers pertained to your foreFathers and we wish to pertain to you that we may in like manner receive protection from you."¹³

At the same time as the clansmen expressed this fervent loyalty to Alexander McDonell, they also pointed out his traditional responsibility to provide them with land. In February 1794 when the clansmen were serving under McDonell in Grant's Fencibles, Father Alexander commented of them: "All the men that are with him in the Fencibles rest perfectly satisfied that he'll make good his promise to see them comfortably settled in Glengarry. Their attachment to him is beyond anything you can conceive."¹⁴ The men had enlisted in Grant's Fencibles without making any demands on Glengarry. In October 1794 as they transferred to their chief's regiment, the soldiers suggested that McDonell make provision for their families since he was now of age. The clansmen believed that traditional Highland farm communities could be re-instated:

13 SRO GD51/1/844/3. Copy of letter to Col. MacDonell, 27 Oct 1794.

14 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell, 12 February 1794.

...if we chance to return home ourselves...we expect to enjoy those possessions which our ancestors so long enjoyed under your ancestors though now in the hands of strangers as we do not wish that you should lose by us we shall give as high Rent as any of your Lowlands shepherds ever give and we shall all become bound for any one whose circumstances may afford you room to mistrust.¹⁵

The recruiting of the Fencible and regular infantry regiments during the war with revolutionary France offered Highland tenants a unique opportunity to bargain with their landlords for land. The possession of a farm had traditionally been linked in some way to military service; the tenants were still familiar with this practice although it had evolved considerably in the preceding hundred years. In the rapidly changing society of the Highlands, not all tenants were still willing to follow their chief to war. The small tenants of nine Knoydart farms refused themselves, their sons or brothers to Alexander McDonell when he came to recruit on that part of his estate. As a result McDonell ordered the tenants and their many cottars who had also refused to enlist removed from their farms.¹⁶ In this instance the late 18th century Glengarry chiefs' behaviour had clearly destroyed the trust and loyalty that the clansmen traditionally gave their leader.

A majority of the Glengarry tenants perceived the war as an opportunity to restore traditional social and agricultural life. In spite of ten years of removals and emigrations, many of the tenants revealed a deep loyalty to and belief in their chief. The fervour of the clansmen's response was perhaps the result of an awareness of their own vulnerability. That military service to their chief required a quid pro quo from him the clansmen made very clear. But

15 SRO GD51/1/844/3, Copy of letter to Col. MacDonell, 27 Oct 1794.

16 Fraser-Mackintosh, Letters of Two Centuries, (Inverness, 1890) 327-8.

even many of those who had been cast adrift in favour of sheep farmers grabbed eagerly at the chance to preserve traditional life that the war had brought.

(ii)

The Peace of Amiens, signed in March 1802, broke the fragile interdependence of chief and clansmen that had to a degree been re-established after 1793 with the demands of war. Economic change and agricultural improvement that had been delayed by Highland recruiting practices burst forth apace in the new century as the landlord-chiefs turned their attention once again to their own economic betterment. The price of agricultural products, especially of wool, had risen substantially during the war years. The profits made by the first sheep farmers had been enormous and a further increase was expected. In the islands, kelp production offered equal rewards and also required a resettlement of the population. On a much wider scale than in the previous century, most Highland landlords began a reorganization of their estates, removing the clansmen from their farms.

Complaints about this sudden expansion of commercial landlordism were heard from across the Highlands. The struggle to compete with sheep farmers for land was a ruinous one for most tenants. Typical of the inflated commercial environment of the Highlands were the changes reported on the Duke of Gordon's estate in June 1803. All his farms were up for rent in July and "South country farmers" were "offering double, triple and quadriples rents"; "the whole Country" was alarmed. A year earlier Bishop Chisholm had observed: "Our Catholics through the Highlands are in Confusion, on the wing for emigration[;] our Proprietors are extravagant in their demands."¹⁷

17 SCA Blairs Papers, Charles Maxwell, 10 June 1803. Ibid., Bishop Chisholm, 1 August 1802.

Such comments were equally true of Protestant clansmen of the early nineteenth century as landlords in Ardgour, Lochiel and Skye, to name only a few, reorganized their estates to the detriment of the joint-tenants.¹⁸

The effect on Highland society of this extensive agricultural reform was dramatic. Virtually no emigrants left the Highlands between 1794 and 1800. In 1801, 800 people emigrated, a number roughly equal to the annual departures in the nine years before the war, but in 1802 that moderate level of emigration was abandoned when 3,300 people left the Highlands for Nova Scotia, Canada and North Carolina. Over the ensuing winter, talk and interest in emigration was at such a fever-pitch in the Highlands that it was widely predicted that 20,000 people would emigrate in the summer of 1803. A more realistic estimate was made by James Grant of Redcastle, who forecast the departure of 5000 people that year; such numbers repeated over even a few years represented a considerable depopulation of the Highlands. Grant predicted a total emigration of 25,000 people, 1/6 of the population of the four Highland counties but 1/3 of the population of the West Highlands and Islands whence most of the emigrants came.¹⁹

This emigration was the clansmen's response to an agricultural change that denied them customary lands and ways of life. The intensified pace of agricultural change after 1800 was matched by a correspondingly large increase in emigration. Landlords were horrified

18 James Hunter, The Making of the Crofting Community, 19, 22.

19 Parliamentary Papers, 1802-3. vol. IV, Appendix A, 40, Emigrant vessels reported by a customs collector in North Scotland, 1801. Also 38, 28 March 1803, Statement of committee set up to consider emigration by the Highland Society. Also 39, Extract from evidence of James Grant, Esq. SCA Blairs Papers, Charles Maxwell, 8 June 1803.

at the loss of so many tenants but clansmen preferred to leave, to join kin and friends in the British colonies. Fears of depopulation were very well based indeed since the new Highland economy had no congenial occupation for the tenant. The emigration of 1802 and the planned departures of 1803 were the beginning of what threatened to become a haemorrhaging flood of emigration from the Highlands.

Among these emigrants were many of the Glengarry tenants. Alexander McDonnell's Fencible Regiment had been disbanded at Ayr in July 1801 and both chief and men had gratefully returned to the Highlands after seven years of military service.²⁰ McDonnell, now in his late twenties, arranged to marry the daughter of Sir William Forbes. The young chief seems to have grown out of his previous dependence on Father Alexander Macdonell, although it was the marriage that reportedly separated the two men: Bishop Chisholm reported, "petticoat government has driven away the chaplain."²¹ At the same time as his return home and marriage, McDonnell began a survey of his estate. Like most other Highland proprietors, McDonnell found that the market value of his estate had increased substantially during the war years. However, while the Glengarry chief decided to raise his rents to reflect current market prices, he intended to offer farms to his clansmen at a discount. He decided:

Upon mature reflection & advice, it appeared... that Ten per Cent was a sacrifice as great as I could afford, and accordingly I made offer to my old tenants of remaining upon their lands at said Ten per Cent below the amount of offers from Strangers...which the County reported as a handsome sacrifice on my hands, and beyond what it was supposed other proprietors would make.²²

20 Cowan, British Emigration, 29.

21 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 25 January 1802.

22 SRO RH2/4/87 f.151, Letter from A. Macdonell, 21 March 1802.

Unfortunately there is no indication of the level rents had already reached in 1801, or by what amount Glengarry proposed to raise them.

The precise effect of Glengarry's rent increases on the tenants' decision to emigrate is not clear. It is quite possible that traditional, joint-tenant farmers could not afford to pay the higher rent demanded by Glengarry, even less 10%. Bishop Chisholm commented in April 1802 that while Glengarry had a "great Landed Income...his tenants complain and many of them are to Emigrate this year."²³

Glengarry was shocked when his tenants asked to surrender their leases so as to emigrate to Canada. Both McDonnell's romanticism and his purse were sufficiently disturbed by this decision to lead him on March 21 to offer the emigrants "Life Rent Tenures of their old holdings, and indemnities for all improvements."²⁴ But many of his tenants refused and emigrated to Canada over the summer months.

Clearly the Glengarry tenants had moved away from a traditional dependence on their chief. Not many years earlier any offer of life tenure and compensation for improvements would have been accepted enthusiastically. By 1802, however, the Macdonell clansmen were improvement-wary: for some thirty years they had endured heavy rent increases, removals and restrictions set for the benefit of the landlord and sheep-farmer. Always their interest and traditional life had been sacrificed to Glengarry's aggrandizement. Possibly what Glengarry asked of them in the winter of 1801-2 was no more than they had already accepted. But whether it was the proverbial straw, or whether it was a heavy additional burden, many of the tenants could see no future for themselves on the Glengarry estate and choose to join kin and friends in the new Glengarry.

23 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 3rd April 1802.

24 SRO RH2/4/87 f.151, 21 March 1802.

Glengarry's tenants left Scotland in two separate emigrant parties in 1802. Tenants from the Glen Garry area left from Fort William under the leadership of Archibald McMillan of Murlaggan; the McMillan emigration is described in the section following this. The people of Knoydart and North Morar sailed from Loch Nevis accompanied by tenants from other west coast estates. Very little detailed information survives concerning this emigration, but a general description of the voyage and a few family sketches do serve to outline the circumstances of the departure.

The Neptune, a large vessel of 600 tons registered burden, sailed from Loch Nevis under the command of Captain Boyd in late June 1802. A Scottish customs inspector, most likely from Fort William and hence not on the scene, reported that the Neptune carried 550 passengers, of whom 400 paid full fare. This account may have slightly underestimated the number of emigrants since several of them stated on arrival at Quebec that the vessel carried "upwards of six hundred Persons, Men, Women & Children."²⁵ At least 150 of the emigrants or 27% of the group were children, although it is possible that the additional 50 passengers unknown to the customs officer were almost all children. The actual organizers of the migration have not been identified, but Norman Morrison, Duncan McDonald and Murdoch McLennan, who served as spokesmen for the group, were clearly community leaders. Three Highland districts provided almost all the emigrants for the Neptune: Knoydart-North Morar, Glenelg, and Kintail-Lochalsh.²⁶ The three spokesmen, McDonald, Morrison and McLennan may each have represented one of these districts.

25 P.P. 1802-3. vol. IV, Appendix A. 41. Also Quebec Gazette. 16 Sept. 1802, Letter of thanks given to Capt. Boyd by his passengers, Quebec, 29 Aug 1802.

26 P.P. 1802-3, vol. IV, 41. Also Inverness-shire: Answers to questions with the Census, 1811. 300 people were reported to have left Glenelg parish (Knoydart, North Morar, & Glenelg) in 1802 for America.

It seems highly probable that most of the Neptune's passengers travelled as part of family groups. The identity of 22 of the families or heads of family who sailed on the vessel has been established: these represent 20% of an estimated 110 families.²⁷ Four men were described as natives of Kintail; these include Farquhar McLennan, John & Alick Macrae, and Murdoch McLennan. John McGillivray, who travelled with his wife and child, Malcolm McCuaig and Norman Morrison may have come from Glenelg.²⁸ There is no definite proof that William McPherson was part of this group, but as he is not named in Archibald McMillan's passenger list, his arrival in Glengarry in 1802 with a wife and children makes it quite likely that he came on the Neptune.²⁹

The remaining fourteen of the 22 known Neptune passengers came either from Knoydart or North Morar. Little information other than name survives for John Macdougall, the brothers Hugh and Donald MacDonald, and Roderick, Neil, John, Angus, Hugh, and Allan Ban Macdonald, all natives of Knoydart.³⁰ Given the large emigration that had left Knoydart in 1786, it seems most likely that these men had kin already settled in Glengarry County. Certainly this was the case for the large Macdonald of Loup family. Mention has already been made of Alex and John Macdonald, Loyalist settlers, and their first

27 I have concluded that any major emigration to Glengarry County in 1802 from the west coast of the Highlands came via the Neptune: the passenger list of the McMillan emigration reports no emigrants from the west coast.

28 PAC MG29 C29. Notebook...Family II...list 1-26. Interview with Alick Allan Ban in the Glen, Mch 84.: List of 1802 settlers. Also interview with John Macdonald 71, Mch 84, no. 2. Also John McLennan, "The Early Settlement of Glengarry," Trans. Celtio Society of Montreal, 113-21. McGillivray, Morrison and McCuaig all have names common to Glenelg. McGillivray rented land from Norman McLeod, a prominent 1793 Glenelg emigrant. PAC UCLP M13 (1821) no. 12, 13. Reel C-2203.

29 PAC UCLP M9 (1804-11) no. 122, Reel C-2196.

30 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook...Family II...List 1-26. Interviews with Alick Allan Ban and John Macdonald, 71.

cousins, Angus and John Rory Macdonald, who emigrated in 1786.³¹ A brother, Lauchlin, and a married sister of the latter two emigrated with their families in 1802. Even the very old were included in the emigration: the mother of these four adults, Catherine McGillis (Macdonald), and Lauchlin's mother-in-law were both part of the emigrant party. Ewen Roy and John McRory were brothers-in-law of one of Catherine McGillis's daughters, and John at least emigrated on the Neptune. Eune's family had been separated in the departure from Scotland, because in 1804, "Caty Eune's Daughter...[had] not come yet father than the Nova Schotia."³² The Macdonalds of Loup may have been exceptional in the degree to which they reconstituted a complex, Highland kin network in Glengarry County. Nonetheless, like earlier emigrant groups, the Neptune passengers likely travelled in family groups and in many cases joined family members already resident in the county.

Only one of the 1802 emigrant families recorded a reason for leaving Scotland, but this statement confirms the fact that western Inverness emigrants were influenced by social as well as economic considerations. Shortly before 1802, Lord Seaforth introduced sheep farming to Kintail and began to evict tenants. Murdoch McLennan, one of the three spokesmen for the 1802 party, "gave up a valuable holding on the Seaforth estate, in order to keep with his friends and neighbours who were emigrating."³³ By this action, McLennan sacrificed a comfortable livelihood in his native glen, so that he could remain a part of his traditional community. Not many emigrants left

31 See Chapter 8, section (iii).

32 P.A.O. Father Ewen John Macdonald, Box 8, C-1-2, Typescript: Copy of letter from Angus McDonald to Roderick McDonald, 14 Oct 1804. The author was John Rory's son.

33 John McLennan, "The Early Settlement of Glengarry."

the Highlands contrary to apparent economic self-interest as did McLennan, but the passengers of the Neptune made their decision to emigrate not merely to escape the economic consequences of sheep farming, but also to maintain community life.

Emigration inevitably broke some family ties, but the pull of kinship remained very strong among Highlanders. Roderick Macdonald, one of the Macdonalds of Loup and a nephew of John Rory, did not accompany his parents and siblings to Glengarry County. In 1804 his cousin Aeneas wrote to him, commenting that Roderick's father was surprised that he had not yet come to Canada and that he sought encouragement to do so. The family believed that "the desire of joining...most of all your nearest relations was enough to induce you to it." Once part of an extended family had settled in Canada, ties of kin alone formed a powerful motive for emigration. Canada itself was seen by the Highlanders as an attractive destination. By 1800 there were many links joining the Highland communities of Scotland with those of Canada, and tenants left in the northern glens must have had a far better knowledge of life in Canada than most British subjects, including some in the Colonial Office. In the moment of decision forced on them by economic and social change, few in the Highlands could resist a letter from Canada with the plea: "All friends here would wish to see you join them in a Country where reigns peace & plenty."³⁴

The Neptune arrived at Quebec on August 25, 1802 after a nine week Atlantic crossing.³⁵ Before leaving Scotland, each of the emigrants had agreed to abide by a set of rules and regulations governing

34 O.A. Father Ewen John Macdonald. Box 8, C-1-2. Letter dated 14 Oct 1804. The recipient could not resist the plea and he too emigrated to Glengarry County some time before 1823.

35 Quebec Gazette, 25 August 1802.

their actions on board ship. When the emigrants reached Quebec after their "tedious" passage, their spokesmen Morrison, McDonald and McLennan wrote a letter of thanks, later published in the Quebec Gazette, to Captain Boyd. The three men attributed their arrival in good health to those regulations, "the reverse of which in our crowded state must without your [Boyd's] uncommon care have been the consequence."³⁶ There was a single note of dissent from this statement since John McDonald refused to accede to it. The leaders of the group pointed out that McDonald had broken the regulations, obliging the Captain to enforce order, and that this behaviour could "reflect only upon the Man himself."

Few of the Neptune emigrants were well-to-do and some nearly exhausted their financial resources in paying for the Atlantic crossing. The arrival of this large group of Highlanders appears to have created a stir in Quebec and a subscription list for the assistance of indigent passengers from the Neptune was opened. Approximately 60 people contributed a total of £103. 10s. 3d.; large donations of £15 and £10 were received from Lt.-Gen. Hunter and the owners of the Neptune respectively. Further assistance was given by Dr. Longmore who cared for the sick without charge. On August 30, six vessels left Quebec carrying the emigrants to Montreal; £97 had been spent on fares for the needy. Another 10s. had bought drugs, £1.16s.3d. boards for beds, and £2.3s.7d. had been given to the most indigent.³⁷

The Neptune emigrants had sailed for Quebec hoping "to go on to Upper Canada as they could."³⁸ Even before leaving Scotland it was evident that limited resources would force some of the party to stop

36 Quebec Gazette, 16 Sept 1802, Quotes letter of 29 Aug 1802.

37 Quebec Gazette, 30 Sept 1802.

38 P.P. 1802-3, vol. IV, 41.

short of their goal. Sir John Johnson who possessed a seigneurie near Chambly "induced 25 or 30 families to settle there". None of these Highlanders remained in Chambly beyond 1815 and many rejoined their friends in Glengarry County.³⁹ But a majority of the Neptune emigrants reached Glengarry in late September 1802.⁴⁰

(iii)

The second major emigration to Glengarry County in 1802 was organized by Archibald McMillan of Murlaggan, a tacksman from the Lochiel estate. McMillan was accompanied by some 443 Highlanders, including 144 children under twelve years of age.⁴¹ Among the 299 emigrants over the age of twelve, there were 153 women and 146 men. There were 97 family groups of two or more in this party, making an average family size of 4.5 people. Thirty-three of the emigrants were unmarried, though most of these travelled with a brother or sister. As was fitting for an emigration organized by a McMillan, 122 people shared the same name, while the 99 McDonalds, almost predictably, formed the second largest group.

Although Archibald McMillan came from the Lochiel estate, the emigrants were not predominantly drawn from that area. Rather 238

39 Thomas Douglas Selkirk, Lord Selkirk's Diary, (New York, 1969), 220. In his History of Huntingdon, Chateauguay & Beauharnois (Huntingdon, 1888, 48-9), Robert Sellar mentions these families who settled on Johnson's land in Chambly.

40 Selkirk Diary, 199. Selkirk refers to the arrival of 170 families in 1802; this includes the McMillan emigrants as well.

41 McMillan, Bygone Lochaber, 236-9, List of emigrants. Thus number differs slightly from that provided in P.P. 1802-3, vol. IV, 41., where 473 are said to have emigrated, 146 under 12 years of age. I have accepted McMillan's figures since his were based on a handwritten list prepared by Archibald Murlaggan. The names of the emigrants, family groups, and numbers of children were given in Murlaggan's list, quoted in Bygone Lochaber.

emigrants, or 54% of the group, left from the eastern part of the Glengarry estate, while only a little more than half as many came from Lochiel. Of the 127 emigrants from Lochiel, 100 were from Locharkaigside. A small party of 16 left from Glenmoriston and some 41 emigrants came from other points in Inverness-shire, particularly along the Great Glen. Four families joined the emigration to Canada from the lowlands: the McDonells and McMillans from Paisley and the Camerons and McDonells from Thornhill had presumably migrated south some years previously but chose to emigrate with their friends.

The primary responsibility for the leadership of the group lay with Archibald McMillan: he made arrangements with the shipping company, collected fares and generally organized the departure. A second prominent member of the party was his first cousin, Allan McMillan of Glenpean. The families of the two men had been Lochiel's principal tenants on Locharkaigside for some 300 years, and Archibald was a second cousin of the Cameron chief.⁴² Another eight men also provided leadership in the McMillan party. They were John Corbet of Ardachy, Angus McPhee of Crieff, Alex. McPhee of Aberchalder, Donald McDonell of Lundy, Alex. and John Cameron, Donald McMillan and Lauchlin McDonell. Some years after the emigration, McMillan applied for land from the colonial government and he asked that larger grants be made to these men since he had "found them useful in forwarding his views[,] in preserving good Order among the people."⁴³ These eight men represented both the different clans and the various districts from which the emigrants came; all were likely men of standing in their local communities. Like other emigrations to Glengarry

42 MacMillan, Byegone Lochaber, 66-79.

43 PAC LCLP Reel C-2545, 66478. Petition of Arch. McMillan, 6 August 1804.

County, this group left the Highlands in 1802 in the company of traditional local leaders.

The McMillan emigrants left the Highlands in response to the same economic pressures that had influenced the Neptune party. The course of events on the Glengarry estate has already been described, and the 238 emigrants from Glengarry must have been among those who turned down their chief's new offer. The eviction of six families from Clunes on the Lochiel estate in 1801 may have served as a final warning to his other tenants of their own probable fate. None of those who emigrated from Lochiel in 1802 had been evicted however; all the Lochiel emigrants chose to leave rather than accept the change that seemed imminent.

Family and community ties both within the emigrant group and across the Atlantic strongly influenced the emigrants' decision to leave. Some from Glengarry and Glenmoriston left to join relations who had emigrated in 1773, 1785 or 1792. Allan McMillan of Glenpean went to Canada to join his brother Alexander, who had organized the 1792 migration. Other McMillans also had, if not close, then distant relations in Canada; the six McMillans of Badenjoig had an uncle Donald who had emigrated in 1785 and a second cousin Duncan Cairibh who had settled in Lochiel township in 1794.⁴⁴ The clansmen's decision to emigrate was linked to the opportunity of leaving in community groups. The 100 emigrants from Locharkaigside came from the same or neighbouring farm villages and had inter-married for generations. Among the Glengarry emigrants, the 58 people from Aberchalder and the 41 from Inchlaggan must each have felt reassured by the company of their neighbours. The bright prospect of a new Highland

44 MacMillan, Byegone Lochaber, 176-7, 73-5, 86-9.

settlement, with kin and friends already there, and the rapid deterioration of the tenants' economic and social situation were the critical elements lying behind the Murlaggan emigration.

The organization of an emigrant party of 443 people required leadership, months of work and detailed record-keeping. Murlaggan incurred certain expenses merely in arranging for the charter of the ships and signing people up for the departure. An essential first step was his trip to Leith, Glasgow and Port Glasgow in the spring of 1802 to enquire about shipping at an expense of £12.15s. Meetings were held with prospective emigrants at Letterfinlay, Gargalt (Glengarry) and Achnacarry with expenses of 4s.6d., 7s., and 11s.6d. respectively. A longer trip to "Lochnevishead when going to meet the Knoydart people" may have been an attempt to convince Glengarry's Knoydart tenants to join McMillan's party, but if so, the attempt failed since no one from Knoydart sailed with his group. McMillan had to keep in touch with customs officers, ship owners, and community leaders, and wrote numerous letters.⁴⁵ In an 1804 land petition McMillan described with only modest self-congratulation, the "considerable trouble and expense" he had been put to in organizing the emigration.⁴⁶

The major financial task facing McMillan was the chartering of ships to take the emigrants to Canada. This operation involved an accurate assessment of the probable number of emigrants, the size of the vessel required and the acquisition from the passengers, likely in small sums, of their fares. For their trouble in this complex process, Highland emigrant leaders generally received more for each passage than was actually paid to the ship owner. Selkirk reported

45 PAC MG24 I 183 Account Book Voyage to America, 44-5.

46 PAC Reel C-2545, p. 66477. LCLP, Archibald McMillan, 6 Aug 1804.

that "a difference of from 10s to 20s on each passenger, was not considered as unreasonable."⁴⁷ McMillan chartered three vessels for his group, the brigs, Friends and Helen, and the ship Jane; he agreed to pay the owners of the Friends £4.10s. per adult passenger, and a similar fare may have been paid on the other vessels as well. The emigrants however paid McMillan five Guineas in installments of three and two guineas each, allowing McMillan the standard profit of 15 shillings per adult fare.⁴⁸

McMillan's actual profit from the voyage may not actually have been that large. On July 3, 1802, McMillan paid £545 for the charter of the Friends. For the Jane and Helen, he paid £337 and £321 respectively on May 8 and again on July 3. Yet at five guineas per full passenger, McMillan would have received £1569.15s. for 299 adults, and £378 for 144 half fares.⁴⁹ With the cost of ship charters totalling £1861 and the emigrants paying £1947.15s., McMillan would have realized only a modest £86.15s. profit, or four shillings per adult fare. McMillan may have expected more emigrants to travel in his party, for instance some of the Knoydart tenants, and may have paid a set price for the Jane and Helen with capacity he ultimately did not need. On the other hand the Scottish customs officer's report of 473 passengers in McMillan's party, if true, would have added another £147. to his profit. Without further evidence, no firm conclusion concerning the financial benefits McMillan gained from the emigration can be drawn; at first glance however, he received no more than the customary profit on the transaction.

47 Selkirk, Observations, 144.

48 PAC MG24 I 183, p. 34, 73; List of Emigrants with Amount of their Bills, 11.

49 PAC MG24 I 183, 35, 73. Children's fares were proportional to age; 2-4 years paid 1/8th of a full fare; 4-6 paid 1/4; 6-8 paid 1/2; and 8-12 paid 3/4. For the purpose of a rough estimate I have assumed that this worked out to the equivalent of a half fare for all children.

The Jane, Helen, and Friends were expected at Fort William on 15th June 1802. The agreement McMillan signed with the owners of the Friends allowed ten consecutive days for the emigrants to board ship, during which time they were to provide their own rations. McMillan specified that "Divisions made with rough boards for sleeping in six feet by six feet" were to be built for each adult passenger, and space proportional to fare allowed for each child. The emigrants were permitted "room for luggage at the rate of two barrel bulk" for each full fare or equivalent; part of their belongings could be stowed in chests, placed in a row on either side of the ship. Some attention was paid to the health of the passengers with McMillan's stipulation that a "companion on the fore hatch," was to be built "for the benefit of conveying air to the hold." On boarding ship the emigrants were to hand over all arms to the Captain, who was to act as "judge and umpire" during the voyage, albeit accountable for his actions afterwards.

Cabin passengers on the Friends paid an additional £5 and were expected to furnish their own provisions. Staterooms were allotted them at McMillan's discretion. Steerage passengers were supplied with food for the price of their fare; children paying 1/8, 1/4, 1/2 or 3/4 fare were provisioned at the same rate. Each adult of 12 and over was to receive a stone of oatmeal (17½ lbs) and seven gills of molasses weekly, as well as three quarts of water daily. From this ration, the passengers were to be given 3½ lbs of bread weekly, and porridge "cooked by the Brig Company twice a day." It was the ship owners' responsibility to provide the fuel and hearth on which the emigrants' provisions were prepared.⁵⁰

50 PAC MG24 I 183. Typescript of agreement between the owners of Friends and Archibald McMillan, p. 34.

The McMillan party sailed from Fort William on 3rd July 1802. The Jane and Helen reached Quebec on 5th September after an eight week passage; the Friends arrived ten days later.⁵¹ The emigrants proceeded immediately upriver to Montreal in these vessels and were allowed two days on board ship in the harbour there to prepare for disembarking. Unfortunately the emigrants' arrival in Canada was marred by a disagreement over surplus rations with the captains of the Jane and the Helen. On the belief that they were entitled to the remainder, the emigrants had eaten very frugally during the voyage and had stretched their ration of meal and molasses out by buying beef, pork, cheese and other items at sea. McMillan brought the case before justices of the peace in Montreal, pointing out "the great want and distress of many of them...and their Families in a strange country where they are destitute." The judges awarded the emigrants that part of eleven weeks' meal ration and eight weeks' molasses which had not already been consumed, but the case had put the emigrants to an expense and delay for which they were not compensated. While Murlaggan stayed in Montreal to begin business as a merchant, Glenpean and most of the other emigrants continued their journey upriver and reached Glengarry County in October 1802.⁵²

(iv)

Close to 800 Highlanders settled in Glengarry in 1802. Since it was widely believed that the rate of emigration from the Highlands would increase, many more were expected in the following year. In June 1803 a Scottish Catholic clergyman observed: "The Spirit of

51 Quebec Gazette, 5 and 15 Sept 1802.

52 PAC MG24 I 183, 34; Case, Montreal, 23 Sept 1802, 36-8; Letterbook Archibald McMillan to Duncan Cameron, 30 Sept 1803. Also Selkirk Diary, 199.

emigration is very great in the western coast -- Thousands went away last year, and I am told near 20,000 are ready to emigrate this Summer."⁵³ Emigration had reached such high levels that depopulation was seen as an imminent possibility. The priest warned that "Bishop Chisholm will have very few Catholics in his district if this Spirit of Emigration Continues a year or two longer." In Canada Archibald McMillan of Murlaggan expected emigration would add to the local Highland population so that "in a few years this country will contain more Highlanders than the old country." Murlaggan's own emigration schemes had not ended with his arrival in Montreal, for in 1803 he wrote of his "Intention of going home to carry more of my Countrymen along with me."⁵⁴

McMillan's intention of bringing more emigrants to Canada was frustrated at least in part by the outbreak of war with France again on 16th May 1803, after which emigration from the Highland slowed once again. Yet the drop in emigration did not reflect the same renewal of the traditional relationship between clansmen and chief as was the case in 1793. By 1803, as Selkirk pointed out, few parts of the Highlands had been untouched by radical change; the experience of the preceeding twenty-five years and particularly of the years after 1793, had fatally weakened the tenants' trust in their landlords. Thus,

...the tenantry will not be so easily influenced as formerly. They have learnt by the experience of their neighbours, that a compliance with the desire of their landlords, may protract the period of their dismissal, but cannot procure them that permanent possession they formerly expected to preserve.⁵⁵

53 SCA Blairs Papers, Charles Maxwell, 8 June 1803.

54 PAC MG24 I 183, Letterbook, McMillan to Duncan Cameron, 30 Sept 1803.

55 Selkirk, Observations, 72.

Emigration fell to a trickle in 1803, not because the tenants had been tempted from that course by the offer of farms in return for military service, but because of the effect of the Passenger Act enacted during the same year.

The Passenger Act, which became law in June 1803, was adopted by the British Parliament in response to the demands of Highland landlords. The large emigrations of 1801-2, and the more numerous departures that were widely expected in 1803, threatened the economic viability of many Highland estates, as well as the social pretensions of their owners.⁵⁶ The Highland Society, to which most prominent Highlanders belonged, and individual landlords such as McDonnell of Glengarry lobbied government members, emphasizing that heavy emigration from the Highlands was not in the public interest.⁵⁷ The complete depopulation of the Highlands that seemed possible within a few years in early 1803 seriously threatened the kelping industry, labour-intensive improvements and the manning of Highland regiments. Much of the Parliamentary discussion of the Act focused on public concern for the appalling conditions met with on certain emigrant vessels. Yet the chief architect of the Act, Charles Hope, explained that the legislation was "professedly calculated merely to regulate the equipment and victualling of ships carrying Passengers to America." Hidden by the humanitarian rhetoric of the horrors of the trans-Atlantic crossing was Hope and "other Gentlemen of the Committee"'s real intention: they expected "indirectly to prevent... the rage for emigrating to America."⁵⁸ Thus while seemingly concerned

56 James Hunter in his Crofting Community, 24-5, made the very convincing connection between landlord self-interest and the Passenger Act of 1803.

57 P.P. 1802-3, IV, Appendix A, 35-8. SRO RH2/4/87 f.151-2, Letter from A. Macdonell, 21 March 1802.

58 SRO RH2/4/89 ff.140-3, Letter from Charles Hope, 3 Sept 1804.

with standards of comfort on emigrant vessels, the Passenger Act of 1803 conveniently ensured that emigration was beyond the means of most Highland tenants.

The real purpose of the Passenger Act was widely understood in Scotland. The price of a passage from the west Highlands to Nova Scotia, the cheapest American destination, rose from £4 to £10 after June 1803; the fare to Canada would have cost several pounds more. Allan Cameron, one of Lochiel's tenants, commented sardonically on the effect of the new Act on Highland affairs:

...the proprietor encourages extensive grazing, which is greatly against the poor tenants who would incline to go to America, but the Government has fallen on a plan to stop their career, as they will not be able to pay freight, as each passenger young or old must take up two tons of the ship, with every other allowance of provisions, surgeons, attendance....⁵⁹

Alexander Macdonell, chaplain of the Glengarry Fencibles, believed that the Passenger Act had been passed only "under the specious pretext of humanity & tender benevolence towards the emigrants."⁶⁰ He was not alone in that opinion. By October 1803, the merchants of Greenock, who considered the Act "a severe reflection on their own conduct," were "procuring certificates to disprove the assertions upon which the Emigration Act" was based.⁶¹ The merchants were not, however, successful in their efforts to ease the restrictions of the Act, and emigration from the Highlands fell to a very low level.

In the first few years after the introduction of the Passenger Act, small groups of Highlanders were still able to reach Glengarry County. Many had already made the decision to emigrate, and those

59 Hunter, Crofting Community, 25. MacMillan, Byegone Lochaber, 181. Allan Cameron, 1 July 1803.

60 PAC MG24 J13 Rt. Rev. Alex. Macdonell, Bishop of Kingston, "The Glengarry Highlanders", 28.

61 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander MacDonell, 24 Oct 1803.

people who had more than the pre-1803 price of a passage were able, at the cost of spending part or all of their savings, to afford the higher fares. One Glengarry inhabitant, James Duncan Macdonald, born in 1792, remembered the arrival of emigrant groups not just in 1802, but also in 1803.⁶² Perhaps among the 1803 emigrants were the eight McMillans and Camerons who applied for land in Glengarry as recent emigrants in 1806.⁶³ Five of these settlers were from Locharkaigside, one from Glen Loy, one from Knoydart and the last from Glengarry. Four were described as farmers, and the others as a shepherd, a yeoman and a labourer respectively.

Among the most famous, but paradoxically least-known, of the post-1803 emigrants were men from the Glengarry Fencible Regiment. After the disbanding of the regiment in 1801, the men returned home to find, a few months later, that their chief planned to increase their rents substantially. Like Glengarry's other tenants, many of the Fencibles preferred to emigrate. None of the 1802 emigrants, however, have yet been identified as veterans of the regiment. One possible reason for their failure to join either of the 1802 migrations to Canada may lie in the activities of their former chaplain. Alexander Macdonell travelled to London in May 1802 to ask for government assistance for the disbanded Fencibles to emigrate to Upper Canada.⁶⁴ Macdonell pointed out in a letter to Charles York, Secretary of War, that the former soldiers were now "intirely secluded from their native soil by the System of Sheep farming newly adopted in the high-lands." The men had two options: they could "submit to the

62 PAC MG29 C29 Family II...list 1-26. Interview with James Duncan Macdonald, 2.

63 PAC Reel C-1650, p. 10806. UCLP C8 (1806-8) no. 5. They are not found on Murlaggan's list of 1802 emigrants.

64 PAC MG24 J13, Letters of Rev. Alex. MacDonell, 8. Also SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 29 April 1802.

humiliating condition of day labourers in the manufacturing towns" or they could emigrate to America where life in the forest was "more congenial to their former habits of life."⁶⁵

Macdonell's efforts on behalf of the Glengarry Fencibles eventually met with success. The Colonial Secretary, Lord Hobart, wrote to the governor of Upper Canada, recommending the "Highlanders, mostly Macdonalds and partly disbanded soldiers of the late Glengarry Fencible Regiment" to his care and asking that each family be given 200 acres of land "in the usual manner."⁶⁶ After the chaplain received notice of Hobart's letter on March 1, 1803, he proceeded to hire shipping and make other preparations for the voyage to Canada. As late as June 8, one of Macdonell's colleagues mentioned the impending departure of the Glengarry Fencibles: yet the planned group emigration never took place.⁶⁷ On different occasions, Macdonell later gave two distinct reasons for this and the truth must lie in a combination of them. In 1806, the chaplain recalled that two months after Hobart's letter was written,

...the war broke out & most serious apprehensions of invasion began to pervade all classes of people in Great Britain[.] That in this critical situation of the Country Your Petitioner when Just on the eve of embarking persuaded his adherents at the earnest request of Government, to delay their departure until those alarms of Invasion had subsided.⁶⁸

But in a letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1814, Macdonell described the impact that the Passenger Act had on departures from Scotland:

- 65 PAC Reel C-4544, 9050: USC, Sept.-Dec. 1814, Macdonell to Bathurst, 20 Dec 1814.
- 66 PAC RG7 G1 vol. 54, 93-4: Hobart to Hunter, 1 March 1803.
- 67 PAC Reel C-2195: UCLP M8 (1806-7) no. 14, Rev. Alex. McDonell. SCA Blairs Papers, Charles Maxwell, 8 June 1803.
- 68 PAC Reel C-2195. UCLP M8 (1806-7) no. 14, Rev. Alex. McDonell.

A Law was enacted in June 1803 on the representation of a Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland consisting chiefly of Factors to Highland Estates, which under the specious pretence of regulating the transportation of Emigrants includes so many unnecessary restrictions, as to amount to an actual prohibition.⁶⁹

Between the high cost of a voyage imposed by the Passenger Act and the demand for soldiers, the planned group emigration of some of the Glengarry Fencibles did not take place.

Twenty-five veterans of the Regiment did eventually reach Glengarry County, most in the period immediately following their intended 1803 departure. On July 16, 1803, the chaplain reported that "some of the Glengarrymen" were "now resolved to take their passage from Greenoch by the first vessels that sail for Canada." Macdonell did not expect it to be easy for them to get away that season. Three of the possible 1803 emigrants already discussed, John McMillan and Paul and John Cameron, had served in the Glengarry Regiment.⁷⁰ Angus McDonald emigrated to Glengarry in 1803, Angus McLachlan in 1805 and Ewen Kennedy after 1815.⁷¹ Sergeant Roderick McDonald was still in Knoydart in October 1804, but by 1823 had joined his relatives in Canada. Only a minority of the disbanded Glengarry Fencibles emigrated

- 69 PAC Reel C-4544, 9052. UCS Sept.-Dec. 1814: Macdonell to Bathurst, 20 Dec 1814.
- 70 PAC Reel C-103. RG1 L1 Land Book L (1821-4) vol. 30, 9 July 1823. Petition of the reduced soldiers of the First Glengarry Fencible. SCA Blairs Papers, Alex. MacDonell, 16 July 1803. PAC Reel C-1650, 10806-8. UCLP C8 (1806-08) no. 5, see 127.
- 71 For Angus McDonald see PAC Reel C-2204 M13 (1816-24) no. 275; for Angus McLachlan see PAC Reel C-2197 M10 (1807-11) no. 30; for Ewen Kennedy, see PAC Reel C-4508, 6490-3, UCS. Kennedy was one of 29 petitioners who asked, unsuccessfully, for special assistance to emigrate in 1815 when the Colonial Office gave some help to emigrants going to Canada. His departure must therefore have been after that date. See 144-6 fol. PAC MG11 Q135 pt. 2, 355A List.

to Canada, but they formed a significant element of the post-Passenger Act settlers in Glengarry county.⁷²

The best known emigrant to Glengarry County, the Fencibles chaplain Alexander Macdonell, travelled alone to Canada in August 1804.⁷³ Like many of the later emigrants to Glengarry, the chaplain had kinsmen already resident in the county: his brother Allan who led the 1785 emigration, his sister Margaret, and their families. Alexander Macdonell was born in 1762, the son of Angus Macdonell and Nancy Cameron of Clunes. Local Glengarry County tradition suggests that the chaplain was a grandson of Allan Macdonell, tacksman of Kyltrie, and a descendant of the seventeenth century Glengarry chief, Donald of Laggan. Little information survives concerning the chaplain's family, and whether he was raised in Glenurquhart or in Glengarry, possibly at Inchlaggan where his older brother Allan was born, is uncertain.⁷⁴ The Macdonell family seems to have been a well-connected, but quite impoverished tenant family, a type not uncommon in Highland society. Alexander studied at the Scots College in Paris, and then at Valladolid in Spain where he was ordained in February 1787.⁷⁵

72 OA Father Ewen J. Macdonald, Box 8, C-1-2. Angus McDonald to Roderick McDonald, 14 Oct 1804. PAC Reel C-103, Petition of Glengarry Fencibles, 9 July 1823. The chaplain is very evasive on the question of how many Glengarry Fencibles came to Canada; see MacGillivray & Ross, Glengarry, 15. Harkness in his county history (522) reports that the men all emigrated in 1802-3. MacGillivray & Ross correctly point out that few of the Fencibles actually came to Canada, but they err in assuming that few settled in Glengarry and vicinity. See P.A.O. Township Papers for 7, 8 and 9 Charlottenburgh; also Indian Lands, lot 14 of 11th Con. and lot 13 of 7th Con.

73 In letters written to Bishop Cameron immediately before his departure the chaplain mentions no travelling companions, and it is clear that his sailing on August 23 was based on a last minute arrangement, hardly possible if he were leading a group. See Blairs Papers, Alexander MacDonell, 15 August, 22 August and 3 Sept 1804.

74 Interview with Alex. Fraser. Forbes and Anderson, "Clergy Lists of the Highland District, 1732-1828" Innes Review, vol. XVII, 2. Autumn 1966, 160. Also Macdonell, Sketches of Glengarry, 322.

75 Macdonell, Sketches of Glengarry, 322.

The new Father Alexander Macdonell returned home later that year to find a Glengarry that had been radically changed by the landlord Duncan McDonell and many families, including his own, gone to Canada.

The reasons behind Alexander Macdonell's decision to emigrate to Canada in 1804 can be found in his career as a Highland missionary as well as in his personality and convictions. In the years following his return to Scotland, Macdonell was profoundly distressed by the dispossession and impoverishment that was the Highland tenants' lot under the new agricultural order. While he referred scornfully to the Highland landlords' selfish behaviour, Macdonell did attempt to manipulate their actions to the tenants' advantage. His strenuous efforts to establish the Glengarry Fencible Regiment were one such attempt. By 1802 however, the compromise based on Glengarry's military ambition and the tenants' desire for land had ended; the regiment was disbanded, the chief raised rents and many tenants left for Canada. Under these circumstances, Macdonell seems to have decided that the best prospects for the men of his regiment and for himself lay in emigration.

The chaplain's attempt to organize a group emigration of the former Glengarry Fencibles and his lobbying in London on their behalf offended both the pride and the pocketbook of the Glengarry chief. The close relationship which had previously existed between the two men had already cooled with McDonell's marriage and treatment of his tenants. A quarrel over regimental bills soon brought the two men into open conflict and undoubtedly served to cut the chaplain's ties with his native glen. The disagreement arose during the chaplain's visit to London in the summer of 1802. At one point Father Alexander was imprisoned for "pecuniary transactions of Glengarry in which he was caution." He was released before February 10, 1803, and by early

March was in Glasgow "examining his accounts with his chieftain."⁷⁶

The quarrel had reached the point where it could only be settled in the courts and the chaplain's solicitor, Mr. Fraser, proposed "every thing necessary to pursue Glengarry in the Court of Sessions in Scotland." In July 1803, Glengarry accepted Father Alexander's offer to submit the dispute to arbitration and the two men agreed that Adam Rolland, advocate, should be appointed arbiter. The chaplain sought to have Glengarry reimburse him for the money he had spent on Glengarry's account, for the expenses he had incurred when on Glengarry's business and for damages and losses he had suffered due to Glengarry's actions.⁷⁷

The acrimonious conflict and depth of feeling that this dispute engendered is exemplified in a bitter and somewhat threatening letter which Glengarry wrote to Bishop Chisholm in December 1803. Glengarry described the chaplain's 161 page statement to the arbitrator as a "rancourous libel fraught with falshood & venom" and accused him of ingratitude. The chief added a verbal message "importing that his former Friendship towards the Catholics wd. be soon the reverse" if the bishop did not suspend the chaplain. Bishop Chisholm's response did not please Glengarry though it did not spare the chaplain his share of the blame. Clearly the chaplain made a dangerous opponent: Chisholm commented to a fellow clergyman that Father Alexander's statement was "artfuled and makes very cooly & deliberately a most destestible character of Glengarry while it gives a little more

76 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 1 Aug 1802. Ibid., Bishop Cameron, 29 Jan 1803. Ibid., Alex. MacDonell, 10 Feb 1803. The chaplain refers to his "enlargement" or his release from prison. See also, SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Cameron, 14 March 1803.

77 SCA Blairs Papers, Alex. MacDonell, 10 Feb 1803. Ibid., Alex. MacDonell, 16 July 1803. Ibid., Alex. MacDonell, 26 Nov 1806.

importance to the writer than I wd. wish him to take."⁷⁸ The arbitrator Rolland finally took up the case in August 1804, freeing the chaplain to leave Scotland at the end of that month.⁷⁹ The affair, however, dragged on for some time. Glengarry rejected the arbitrator's settlement; in Nov. 1806 the chaplain arranged to pursue him through the courts for the award; and in 1810 the chaplain was given a temporary judgment against Glengarry for £1000.⁸⁰ The tenacity with which the chaplain pursued Glengarry may well have been the result of an earlier disagreement between the two men as to the future of the tenants on Glengarry's estate. The bitter dispute certainly lessened Father Alexander's usefulness to the Catholic hierarchy and may have been his way of closing the door on his missionary career in Scotland.

If Father Alexander was an opponent to be respected, he was also a subordinate who was very difficult to control. His independence of mind was apparent in the early years of his priesthood as in 1792 when he proceeded to Glasgow on his own initiative to open the first Catholic chapel in that city since the Gordon Riots. The Catholic bishops were willing to accept Macdonell's "forward & intrepid disposition" as an asset to their cause. Bishop Hay commented to his lowland confrère:

I have often seen that when providence has a mind to bring out any event, he qualifies the instruments he makes use of for that purpose; & very often a certain degree of boldness produces as much better results than too much timidity.⁸¹

78 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 26 Dec 1803.

79 SCA Blairs Papers, Alex. MacDonell, 15 and 22 August 1804.

80 SCA Blairs Papers, Alex. MacDonell, 26 November 1806. Ibid., Alex. MacDonell, 12 June 1811.

81 Bishop Hay quoted in Rev. Alex. MacWilliam, "The Glasgow Mission, 1792-99" Innes Review, vol. 4, no. 2 (1953), 87.

But a similar sense of initiative in supporting emigration from the Highlands resulted in a serious disagreement between Macdonell and his superiors.

The very issue of emigration was a difficult one for the Catholic hierarchy. A shortage of clergymen was complicated by the emigration of large groups of Catholics each of whom hoped to take a priest with them. In 1802 for instance two vessels left the west coast and another left Barra: "they wd. wish to have a churchman on each."⁸² Yet the call for Highland clergymen did not come only from emigrant groups; it also came from lowland towns. Bishop Cameron explained his new needs to his northern colleagues: "In our district, we stand much in need of people who know the Erse; and the necessity increases upon account of the many Highlanders whom the sheep farms drive from their own country."⁸³ Under these circumstances the Bishops' reluctance to agree to the chaplain's request to emigrate is not surprising. Priests were needed at Glasgow, Paisley and Barra, and Bishop Chisholm believed that Father Alexander could serve any of these demanding missions well. On the other hand, Bishop Chisholm was not convinced that the chaplain could survive in the New World: "I have no great expectation from what he is either willing or able to do in the wilds of Canada among frost and Snow and extreme heat which they have by turn, and for which he has no constitution."⁸⁴

Father Alexander's determination to emigrate to Canada regardless of his superior's preference considerably angered Bishop Chisholm. During a visit to the Bishop, Macdonell asked leave to go to Canada only on the sea-shore, at the moment of departure. The

82 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 3rd April 1802.

83 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Cameron, 17 Sept 1803.

84 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 9 July 1802, 5 June 1803, and 26 Dec 1803.

chaplain had even gone so far as to suggest to friends on the west coast "that he was going to America without asking leave, his having Signified to Some of the Common Catholic Soldiers that he did not mind whether he had got leave or not." Bishop Chisholm was very annoyed with Macdonell's behaviour and the scandal to which it gave rise. He commented exasperatedly to Bishop Cameron:

...you desire me in your last not to embarrass him, if your company has not changed him, it is my opinion, my military cousin wd. not be much embarrassed by any thing I could write him providing other circumstances smiled upon him.⁸⁵

By November 1803 news of the death of Father Alexander Macdonell of Scotus reached Scotland from Upper Canada and led Bishop Chisholm to give his reluctant permission for Father Alexander Macdonell, the chaplain, to go to Canada.⁸⁶

Separate from the question of clerical emigration to Canada was the issue of the chaplain's prominence in the organization of a Highland emigrant group. Discussion of the Glengarry Fencibles has already shown how Father Alexander attempted to organize their emigration in 1802-3, at the same time as Highland landlords demanded that restrictions be placed on such movements. The chaplain represented a dangerous threat to landlord ambitions since he, unlike the tenants, had access to men in power at Westminster.⁸⁷ Considerable pressure was put on the Scottish Catholic hierarchy to discipline Macdonell for his support of emigration. In April 1803, Bishop Chisholm indicated that he had "thoughts of Suspending him [Macdonell] on account

85 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 5 June 1803 and 26 Dec 1803.

86 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, 6 Nov 1803.

87 SCA Blairs Papers, Alex. MacDonell, 7 March 1803. Macdonell writes that "friends of his recommended him to members of the Gov't." Macdonell, being of good, if poor, birth, had the usual Highland kin network to provide him with an introduction to the circles of power.

of the odium he draws upon us by his Emigration schemes." The bishop later warned Father Alexander "to take no charge of emigrants," except possibly to make the best bargain he could for them, but the chaplain managed, as usual, to interpret this minimal permission in the broadest possible sense. By late December 1803, Bishop Chisholm had had enough of Macdonell's plans. Although the bishop had grudgingly agreed to Father Alexander's emigration, he wrote:

...if he [Macdonell] meddles with emigration any more, he may ask leave to go to America from any other but me. he has got by the fingers already by interfering in temporal concerns and he is not the only sufferer. Such as choose to Emigrate may manage their own affairs and let him attend to his Spiritual duties.⁸⁸

Father Alexander seemed to have a propensity for getting into trouble. His disagreements with his religious superiors and his bitter quarrel with Glengarry were the result of his independent or impulsive actions. Whether the serious charge of misbehaviour that was made against him in early 1803 was the result of similar impetuosity, or was a slander spread by Glengarry or others, is not easily determined. On February 22, Bishop Cameron wrote to Bishop Hay reporting that the chaplain was on the brink of "bringing infamy on himself and shame on us all" by marrying a young girl too deluded to draw back. Bishop Cameron commented:

I am not without strong suspicions that she is not the first he has deceived; many hints which I had formerly despised, upon account of the character he bore amongst those who ought to know him, recur to me now & confirm my suspicions. The name & circumstances of the girl are unknown to me and I have not learned that any part of the infamous affair is, as yet, known in this country.⁸⁹

88 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Chisholm, April 1803 and 26 Dec 1803.

89 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Cameron, 22 Feb 1803.

Precisely when during Macdonell's 1802-3 stay in London this attachment is supposed to have developed is not clear; the chaplain's imprisonment would seem to limit the period during which the affair might have occurred.

Bishop Cameron gave credence to the story in his letter of February 22. Yet after the chaplain returned to Edinburgh and took up residence with Cameron three weeks later, no further reference to the accusation can be found. Instead Cameron spoke of his pleasure in Father Alexander's company: "The Chaplain is still with me &, I am happy...I am glad to have had an opportunity of renewing our old acquaintance."⁹⁰ Similarly, Bishop Hay referred to Macdonell's alleged "marriage" when he reported his distress at Bishop Cameron's accounts of the chaplain. Several months later, however, Hay included in his letter to Cameron his best wishes to the chaplain.⁹¹

It seems inconceivable that the two bishops, Cameron and Hay, could write of Father Alexander with such warmth and affection had there been any truth in the story of a planned, unsacramental marriage. While Father Alexander may thus be cleared of the accusation of improper proposals to a young girl, it is possible that his own impetuous behaviour had placed him in a situation where such an accusation could be made. The full story remains untold. On 1st July 1803 Bishop Cameron referred to the chaplain, commenting that "all the circumstances" were to be laid before Bishop Chisholm.⁹² This seems to suggest that all of the chaplain's difficulties, his ruined emigration scheme, his lawsuit with Glengarry, and the slanderous rumour, were to be considered by Bishop Chisholm. Chisholm

90 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Cameron, 14 March 1803 and 31 May 1803.

91 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Hay, 21 Feb 1803, 7 May 1803 and 9 July 1803.

92 SCA Blairs Papers, Bishop Cameron, 1 July 1803.

may have decided that Father Alexander would be better off out of Scotland and finally agreed to the chaplain's emigration on that basis.

On his own part, Father Alexander Macdonell gave three distinct reasons for his emigration to Canada. Each of these explanations is partly correct, but depending on the circumstances and the listener, the chaplain preferred to emphasize separate aspects of the motives behind his choice. To Bishop Cameron, Father Alexander explained in March 1803 that "his Majesty's Commands are laid upon me to Convey to the Province of Upper Canada such of the Roman Catholics as may... Emigrate this year from Scotland."⁹³ This was a somewhat dubious argument since it was only Macdonell's persistent lobbying that produced what proved to be somewhat illusionary government acquiescence to the emigration of the Glengarry Fencibles. Evidently Macdonell hoped that this reference to royal authority would lead Chisholm to agree to his departure for Canada.

Several years later when asking the colonial government for a land grant, Father Alexander explained that he had been "ordered to Canada to take charge of the Scotch Catholics."⁹⁴ It is of course correct that Macdonell did finally sail to Canada to serve the Highland Catholics with the approbation of the Scottish hierarchy. Nonetheless, it is very clear that this was the result of the chaplain's insistence and not the bishops' preference, so perhaps Macdonell exaggerated slightly when he used the word, "ordered."

The third and fundamental motive for Father Alexander's emigration was given in Hobart's second letter on that subject to Lt.-Gov.

Hunter: "the chaplain was desirous of joining those of his Countrymen

93 SCA Blairs Papers, Alex. MacDonell, 7 March 1803.

94 PAC Reel C-2195. UCLP M8 (1806-7), no. 14, Rev. Alex. McDonell.

who are already settled in the District of Glengarry." Macdonell himself attributed his emigration in 1804, after the failure of his Glengarry Fencible emigration scheme, to his desire to be with his friends.⁹⁵ Like other Highland emigrants of the early nineteenth century, Father Alexander Macdonell preferred to live with his friends, his kin and neighbours, in the new Glengarry.

(v)

The sudden decline in Highland emigration after 1803 has traditionally been associated with the resumption of hostilities between Britain and France in May of that year. The evidence presented above indicates that the introduction of the Passenger Act in June was more directly responsible for the sudden stop in the flow of emigrants. Emigration remained at a very low ebb, until the end of the war in 1814 produced a changed social climate and new priorities. Between 1803 and 1814, Highlanders were still anxious to emigrate to America and were prevented from doing so primarily by the cost of a passage. Some emigrants did reach Glengarry during these years, but many others who wished to leave the Highlands for Canada were unable to make that journey.

The pathetic tale of the Canadian Fencible Regiment, recounted by John Prebble in his recent book Mutiny, reveals the usually unrecorded history of an unsuccessful emigration. Two factors had led to the authorization of the Canadian Fencibles in August 1803. The first was the need for a defensive military force in Canada, and the other was the Colonial Secretary's desire to assist would-be Highland

95 PAC RG7 G1 vol. 54, 179-80, Letter from Hobart to Hunter, 1 April 1804. PAC UCS RG5 A1 vol. 21, 9057, Macdonell to Bathurst, 20 Dec 1814, Reel C-4544.

emigrants stranded in Scottish ports by the enforcement of the new Passenger Act.⁹⁶ Recruiting was not, however, limited to those Highlanders already committed to emigration, but was soon extended throughout northern Scotland. Men flocked eagerly to enlist in the Canadian Fencibles when land and a free passage to Canada for women and children was promised. Charles Hope complained that "it was in vain for any other Officer to offer his paltry bounty, in Competition with the paradise of America." At least some of these recruits hoped to settle in Glengarry County: the sixty people who left the parish of Glenelg to follow the regiment in 1804 likely intended to join either MacLeod or Macdonell kinsmen in the county.⁹⁷ One Alexander McDonald had served as Sergeant of the Grenadier company of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment. He and his wife, Ann, attempted to reach America by means of his enlistment in the Canadian Fencibles. McDonald would serve "as Sergt. for a year or two Merely to get his passage to that Country for it is very Ill to get over to America this critical time."⁹⁸

Military authorities had strongly disapproved of a regiment being raised on such irregular lines. Highland landlords, particularly their spokesman Charles Hope, added their strong condemnation of the regiment pointing out that it was rekindling the fever of emigration that had just begun to die down in the Highlands under the impact of the Passenger Act.⁹⁹ Mishandling of the regiment by both its

96 One wonders if Father Macdonell was responsible for prodding Lord Hobart into thinking such an action was both necessary and beneficial.

97 SRO RH2/4/89. ff. 140-3, HO Corres. Scot. Hope to Lord Advocate, 3 Sept 1803. 1811 Census, Inverness-shire. Answers to questions with census, Glenelg.

98 SCA Blairs Papers, Ann McDonald, 13 August 1804.

99 SRO RH2/4/89. ff. 140-3. Hope to Lord Advocate, 3rd Sept 1804.

officers and the government provoked a mutiny in August 1804. Orders to march from Glasgow to the Isle of Wight were taken as a betrayal of the promise that the regiment was destined for Canada and interpreted instead as the first step towards the East Indies. The mutineers were lightly punished but the government decided that it had no use for such a heavily encumbered regiment: the 683 privates were accompanied by 432 wives and 1069 children. The Canadian Fencibles were disbanded at the end of the year and the fate of the would-be emigrants is unknown. A few may have been able to raise the price of a fare to Canada, but for the vast majority the choice lay between enlistment in a Regiment of the Line or casual employment in the new industrial cities of the Clyde.¹⁰⁰

Highland emigration in general and to Glengarry in particular had reached new heights during the interval around the Peace of Amiens. By 1800, Highland society was considerably fragmented; while the economic structure of society had been transformed, traditional life and beliefs did not change as quickly. The alternatives open to Highland tenants within Scotland were either, like crofting, economically punitive, or like industrial employment, socially repugnant.¹⁰¹ Virtually en masse Highland tenants in the first three years of the nineteenth century revealed that they preferred to emigrate rather than to accept economic and social loss. Had emigration gone on unchecked for even three or five more years, the Highlands would indeed have been substantially depopulated. Such

100 John Prebble, *Mutiny*, 445-74; 485-6, 488-9.

101 More perceptive contemporary observers pointed out the Highlanders' repugnance to urban life and industrial employment but they fail to mention the possibility of the crofting alternative. See Selkirk, *Observations*, 47-9; and Alexander Irvine, *An Enquiry into...Emigration*. Edinburgh, 1802, 9.

large scale departures threatened the economic security of Highland landlords who quickly made use of their wealth and political power to protect their position by virtually prohibiting emigration from the Highlands. This measure could not, however, suppress the desire of many clansmen to obtain land and to join kin and friends in the new Highland communities of British North America.

Chapter 10
Post-War Emigrants

(i)

As the Napoleonic Wars came to an end, emigration fever rose once again in the Highlands. Landlord resistance to Highland emigration remained, but much of the passion in it had died down in the cooling-off period provided by the twelve years of war since 1803. The same trend towards the consolidation of agricultural holdings was evident in 1815 as had been visible in 1803, although it had intensified, particularly in remote districts. Yet the economic depression of the post-war years was to make apparent the incongruity of landlords' attempts to organize sheep farms and at the same time maintain a large population on their estates. By 1815, even a few Highland gentlemen had reached the conclusion that emigration might benefit both the landlords and the clansmen.

The ideas entertained by John Campbell, law agent for Lord Macdonald, the Earl of Breadalbane and other proprietors, were perhaps representative of the new attitudes towards emigration slowly gaining ground among the conservative members of the Scottish gentry.¹ Eighteenth century writers had firmly believed that the British population was stable and hence emigration, particularly the large-scale Highland variety, had been widely condemned for weakening British society.² Campbell, however, considered that the Highlands possessed a surplus population and he supported Highland emigration to Canada as a means of easing that over-population. Campbell expected

1 PAC Reel B134, C042/165, 83-4, Colquhoun to Bathurst, 15 Feb 1815.

2 Hugh Johnston, British Emigration Policy, 2. Johnston deals with emigration from the standpoint of the development of official policies; as a result little attention is paid to the emigrants themselves.

the military qualities of the Highlanders to be an asset to the colony, and the desire to join relatives already resident in Canada would provide the necessary motive for emigration. The difference between Campbell's beliefs and the opinions of most landlords was nowhere more apparent than in his favourable comments about the emigration enthusiast, Lord Selkirk: Selkirk's book had been "received at the time with some prejudice & considerable opposition. But it has been found that it contains much of truth in it."³ Such support for the heretical Lord Selkirk marked the beginning of a radical shift in upper class opinion; ultimately most landlords would come to agree with Campbell and their determined opposition to emigration would in some cases turn to eager support for the departure of their now surplus tenants.

In the following chapter, Highland emigration to Glengarry County in the forty-five years following the Napoleonic Wars will be examined. The steady impoverishment of the clansmen made it very difficult for the tenants to organize community emigrations on the pre-1803 model. The one large-scale emigration to Glengarry during these years occurred in 1815 and was a government-sponsored experiment in colonization. Yet between 1816 and 1860, small numbers of Highlanders continued to emigrate to Glengarry County. They came from the same or adjacent districts of western Inverness and were very often related to those who had emigrated to Glengarry before them. This prolonged, if erratic, flow of emigrants was the result of the intense kinship and community links which still joined the people of western Inverness and of Glengarry County.

The shift towards acceptance and even support of emigration could be found in government ministers and official policies during

3 PAC Reel B134, C042/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 14 Oct 1815.

the post-war years. As early as October 1813, the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst, concluded that since emigration could not be prevented, he would attempt instead to direct it towards the colonies.⁴ The 1812-14 war between the United States and Great Britain seriously threatened the British hold on Upper Canada. Loyal Highlanders settled in Canada could help to defend the colony, so Lord Bathurst proposed giving assistance to Highland emigrants in order to bolster Canadian defences. In the summer of 1814 the colony's acting governor, Sir Gordon Drummond, responded enthusiastically to the prospect of increased Highland emigration and he urged that emigrants be sent out immediately.⁵ In the winter of 1815 the Colonial Office intended to experiment not just in the Highlands but across Scotland with its first program of assisted emigration.

The government offer to would-be emigrants was published in Glasgow on 22 February 1815. Notices were sent to other Scottish newspapers and a handbill was distributed throughout Scotland, most particularly in Argyll, Perth and Inverness shires. The scheme offered 2000 free passages to Canada with bedding and rations included; ships were to sail from the Clyde some time in April. The government plan was not intended to encourage emigration. Rather it was aimed at those who had already decided to emigrate, to divert them from American destinations to the Canadian settlements. To insure this objective would be met, the government required a £16 deposit from each adult male and a two guinea deposit from each adult woman.⁶ When settlement duties were fulfilled, these sums would be returned to the emigrants.

4 PAC Reel B841, C043/23, Bathurst to Prevost, 29 Oct 1813.

5 PAC Reel B296 C042/335, Drummond to Prevost, 12 July 1814.

6 PAC Reel B134. C042/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 12 Feb 1814. Ibid., Caledonian Mercury, 27 March 1815.

The government scheme was a bold innovation and quite unprecedented in British policy with the exception of the founding of Halifax seventy years earlier.⁷ However, fortuituous conditions created by the end of the war in Europe made it possible for the government to organize its assisted emigration at minimal cost. The peace reached with the Americans in early 1815 made it necessary to send ships to Canada to bring home most of the 20,000 British troops then stationed in North America. By organizing the emigration in the early spring of 1815, Bathurst intended to fill some of the troop ships on their otherwise empty western journey. Large stores of military provisions made surplus by the peace were to be used to feed the emigrants, while military establishments set up to grant land to demobilized troops could provide for emigrant settlers at the same time. The assisted emigration plan devised by the Colonial Office was designed to cost as little as possible and was financed largely from the military chest. The renewal of war in March 1815 ruined this carefully arranged program since on 1st April troop ships were ordered to sail immediately to Canada to bring back to Europe urgently needed military units. Government plans, which by this time included assistance to 2000 Irish and 1000 English emigrants, were shelved and the Scottish migrants were forced to wait out Napoleon's hundred days until ships were once more available.

The government offer of an assisted passage to Canada was made across Scotland, but the response from the Highlands greatly exceeded government expectations. There was actually little need to introduce such a scheme in the Highlands since the clansmen had already shown a clear preference for emigration within the British

7 Johnston, British Emigration Policy, 19-20. This paragraph is based on Johnston's analysis of events early in 1815.

colonies. The government offer kindled once again Highland interest in emigration and led to a flood of applications both from those who had already decided to emigrate and from those who had been deterred by the high cost of a passage. The deposit required of the emigrants, however, was a substantial sum, in certain cases equal to the commercial cost of a family passage. For many Highlanders, whose ability to raise money had been seriously eroded by economic change and wartime inflation, the gap between awakened expectation and financial resources was very large. Some hoped that the government might be induced to reduce the required deposit. Among these were the twenty-nine subscribers to the memorial prepared by Allan McDonell in early March 1815. The desperate hope that had been raised in the minds of McDonell and the other subscribers was evident in the opening of their petition:

...we the memorialists assembled together for the purpose of Embracing this precious encouragement offered by our Gracious Sovereign and Government to such as will Emigrate which we are most eager to grasp at so favourable an opportunity, but we are in dread our Sincere attention will prove frustraneous...⁸

Allan McDonell's memorial expressed two objections to the government proposal which were doubtless felt by many other Highlanders. The advertised departure in the month of April left an impossibly short time for Highland families to dispose of their possessions and reach the embarkation point on the Clyde. McDonell suggested that sailing be delayed until June 16. Similarly the deposits required by the government were beyond the resources of most of the petitioners. McDonell explained that many of the would-be emigrants were discharged soldiers, who were at present supporting their families by

8 PAC MG11 Q135 pt. 2, Memorial of Allan McDonell, etc. Augustus, March 1815.

wage labour. With the "exorbitant" cost of living during the war years, these former soldiers had been unable to put money aside and they, unlike tenant farmers, had no stock to sell to raise cash. McDonell's petition proposed that the deposit be waived on the condition that each man swear before a magistrate, and find security for his promise, that he would remain on his Canadian grant till the end of his life, unless called away to fight for the King.

The identity of the twenty-nine subscribers to McDonell's memorial is quite revealing. All were Highlanders with two possible exceptions, John Hall and Kenneth Ferguson. Half of the subscribers were McDonells; the remainder included three Kennedys and three Frasers, and one McPhee, MacKay, Robertson, McMillan, McKinnon, Gillis and Cameron. The great majority of the petitioners were heads of family, only three individuals were unmarried men. The families were not newly established since these were on average almost four children per family. As claimed in the memorial, sixteen of the twenty-seven male subscribers had served as soldiers. Six of these were veterans of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, while the others had served variously in other Fencible units, in volunteer corps, and in the militia.⁹ To this extent, the 152 would-be emigrants fit the same general description as those Highlanders who had emigrated to Glengarry County in the preceeding forty years.

The one major difference between the twenty-nine memorialists and previous Glengarry emigrants was the total absence of farmers among the petitioners. Two of the subscribers were widows for whom no occupation was given, one was a student and six were listed only as former soldiers. The remaining 20 men were described either as

9 PAC MG11 Q135 pt. 2, 355A. List of subscribers to Memorial of Allan McDonell and others.

labourers (nine) or as skilled workers (eleven). Traditional skills were well represented with three shoemakers, two tailors, one weaver and a mason; more appropriate in an improved agriculture were the three shepherds and one gardener. None of the would-be emigrants, however, described himself as a farmer, a marked contrast to emigrants of earlier years.

This absence of farmers among the twenty-nine petitioners illustrates the effect agricultural change had had on the Highland population and the shift in occupation that it had produced. Twenty-five or forty years earlier it would have been difficult to find a group of potential migrants of this size that did not include a substantial number of tenant and sub-tenant farmers. This change in occupation, and decline in economic status, made it more difficult for the clansmen to emigrate. Only a few of the petitioners were able to pay the £16 deposit and hence very few could afford an unassisted passage. Yet some of the twenty-nine subscribers must have been the children of tenants, whose small stock might well have provided the price of a fare a generation earlier; others may have been the children of cottars who even then might have found it difficult to raise such a sum. The 29 clansmen from Fort Augustus were not alone in lacking the necessary deposit: McDonnell commented that many others would have signed the memorial had more time been available.¹⁰ As appealing as the government offer was, it was very difficult for landless Highlanders, now a large part of the population, to meet the attached conditions.

The government scheme was announced in the Glasgow press on 22nd February 1815 and John Campbell was appointed to act as the Scottish

10 PAC MG11 Q135 pt. 2. Allan McDonnell to John Campbell, 11 March 1815.

agent for the emigration program. Campbell made a determined effort to avoid any suggestion that the government wished to promote emigration. The first applicants were told to think the matter over carefully before returning to Campbell with their certificates of good character.¹¹ A second statement published in the Caledonian Mercury on 27th March emphasized that the government did not wish to increase emigration, but merely hoped to divert it from the United States to the British colonies.¹² Campbell soon found, however, that while great enthusiasm existed for the government emigration scheme, relatively few people could afford the deposit. On 15th March Campbell commented to Bathurst that "The great obstacle that stands in the way of the Plan is the £16 or £2.2[,] for the great number of applicants are persons who have barely daily bread tho industrious & willing to exert themselves, but who have had no opportunity to lay by of their Earnings." Three weeks later, Campbell pointed out that in spite of numerous enquiries very few people had actually made the required deposit.

In early March, Bathurst confirmed that 2000 assisted passages would be given from Scotland; this number did not include accompanying children under 16 years of age. By 4th March Campbell had received 500 applicants and by the end of the summer several thousand people expressed an interest in the scheme. Yet on 6th May only 383 people (80 men, 73 women and 230 children) had paid their deposit, and by May 24 that number had reached only 474 (108 men, 90 women and 276 children). The renewal of war with France with the resulting delay in sending transport ships to the Clyde, and possibly the low rate

11 PAC Reel B134. C042 vol. 165, Campbell to Bathurst, 4 March 1815.

12 Ibid., Caledonian Mercury, 27 March 1815.

of registration, led Bathurst to instruct Campbell on 13th May that no more settlers were to be accepted.¹³ Campbell received this order on 24th May but evidently interpreted it quite loosely since another 225 emigrants were enrolled after that date.¹⁴

The original departure set for some time in April was very quickly discarded, at first because of the distance many of the emigrants had to travel, and later because the required transports were not available.¹⁵ However, the emigrants began trickling into Glasgow in early April, afraid that if they delayed at home until a notice of the sailing appeared in the newspapers, they would be unable to reach the Clyde in time. On 29th April Campbell informed Bathurst of their arrival and asked for directions as to how to deal with the would-be emigrants. Campbell feared that a long delay might "create grudges & discontent among ignorant country people."¹⁶ The Colonial Secretary took no action until Campbell asked for a third time that the emigrants' expenses be paid from 1st May onward. Upon receipt of Campbell's letter of 24th May Bathurst finally ordered that the emigrants be given a daily allowance from the date of their arrival in Glasgow.¹⁷ A few days after making this concession Bathurst received a petition dated 26th May from Alexander McNab of Glasgow on behalf of himself and the other emigrants waiting on the Clyde. The emigrants felt abandoned in Glasgow by the government and they asked

13 PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Campbell to Bathurst, March-October 1815.

14 PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 24 May, 24 July and 3 August 1815. Campbell no doubt felt it necessary to accept applicants from a distance particularly from the Highlands, who had not reached Glasgow when Bathurst's order was received, but who had then begun to prepare for the trip.

15 PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Colquhoun to Bathurst, 22 Feb 1815.

16 PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 29 April and 6 May 1815.

17 The daily rate was 9d per man and 6d per woman. PAC Reel B134 CO42/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 24 May 1815.

for compensation for the money spent in lodging in Glasgow and for the time lost to them in Canada by the delay.¹⁸

The four ships provided for the emigrants finally arrived in the Clyde in early June, but the task of embarking, with its usual unforeseen problems, delayed the departure for a further six weeks. One difficulty which had to be overcome was the loss of eight sailors from the Atlas, carried off by a press gang. When the ships arrived in Greenock, not all the emigrants had reached the Clyde; fifty families made their deposits after 12th June and as late as 11th July several families had just arrived from Glenelg and Inverness-shire.¹⁹ While life on board ship awaiting departure must have been cramped and anxious, at least some of the settlers enjoyed long, convivial nights with Peter Stewart, Campbell's Gaelic-speaking clerk.²⁰ The emigration and its long delay could not stop the usual progression of life: several children were born while the party waited at Greenock while Colin McPherson, aged 4½, and Janet McDonnell, aged 6, died there. In mid-July three ships finally sailed for Canada: the Atlas on 11th July with 242 settlers, the Dorothy on the following day with 194, and the Baltic Merchant on 14th July with 140. The Eliza sailed three weeks later on 3rd August with the remaining 123 emigrants. Carried over with the settlers was a letter Campbell had written to the Governor of Canada. In it Campbell expressed the government's, and especially his own, warm interest in the reception accorded to the emigrants and in their future success.²¹

18 PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Petition of A. McNab, 26 May 1815.

19 PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 20 June and 11 July 1815. For dates of deposits, see List, PAC MG11 C0385, vol. 2.

20 PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Campbell to Goulburn, 29 Sept 1815.

21 PAC MG11 C0385, vol. 2, 24. Also, PAC Reel B134. CO42/165, Campbell to Governor of Canada.

(ii)

The Colonial Office required each assisted emigrant family to provide detailed personal information with its application. Their names, ages, family relationships, occupations, points of origin, and the date and amount of their deposits were all carefully recorded, and now furnish a very useful composite picture of the emigrant party. When the emigrants reached Canada, land was made available to them in two locations: the first was in Glengarry County and the other in the new townships on the Rideau River, eighty miles further west. Three hundred fifty-four of the 699 assisted emigrants took up land in Glengarry County. The two groups of settlers will be examined, with particular attention given to the Glengarry emigrants, and to certain major distinctions between the two groups.²²

Although the government scheme was advertised across Scotland, the emigrants came from particular regions of the country. None of the emigrants came from the northern Highlands, from Caithness, Sutherland, or Ross and Cromarty, while only one family left from the Hebrides.²³ Thirty-nine percent of the emigrants came from southern Scotland -- some from the Borders, many more from the area about the Clyde-Forth valley, and a few from Dundee and Fife. The northeast was somewhat under-represented, contributing seven families, 4.4% of the party. Large groups of emigrants left from two counties:

22 Unless otherwise stated the following analysis of the 1815 emigrants is based on PAC MG11 C0385, vol. 2, "General List of Settlers Inrolled for Canada under the Government Regulations at Edinburgh, 1815." The assisted emigrants who settled in Glengarry have been identified by matching the names in the Edinburgh list with the names of the assisted emigrants settled in Glengarry found in P.A.O. RG1 C-1-3, vol. 101. Return of Locations, March 1816.

23 The one exception to this is the family from Glen Shiel, which is virtually in Inverness-shire.

209 (30%) from Inverness-shire and 133 (19%) from Perthshire.

Surprisingly, 43 of the emigrants were from northern England, though some of these were of Scottish origin.²⁴

The half of the 1815 emigrants who settled in Glengarry were, not unexpectedly, predominantly Highland. Fifty-nine percent came from the west Highlands and 25% from Perthshire; only a small group of 56 settlers had originated in lowland Scotland. All of the families in the 1815 group from north of the Great Glen chose to settle in Glengarry save one, that of Donald McPhee, a wright from Ardgour.²⁵ The 209 settlers from the west Highlands came from just a few communities and these already had long established ties with Glengarry County. One hundred and sixteen were from Glenelg, 73 from Knoydart, 14 from Fort Augustus, and 6 from Glenshiel. Among the Glengarry settlers, the three families from Fort Augustus were the only subscribers to the petition of Allan McDonell who had managed to join the assisted emigration.²⁶

Three conclusions can be drawn from this examination of the points of origin and destinations of the 1815 emigrants. The first is quite obvious. Any emigrant with family or community ties to the people of Glengarry County chose to settle there. In addition, the Highland character of the county was likely the cause of the disproportionate number of Perthshire emigrants choosing to settle there. Secondly, it can be argued that the government plan achieved its

24 These were the Fraser family and possibly the McConachie family, in which the wife was a Brodie.

25 McPhee had no obvious social or kin relationship with any of the Glengarry settlers.

26 These were Allan McDonell himself, Duncan McDonell, and most likely John McDonald. The ages and number of dependents shown on the petition and on the emigrant list match perfectly for the first two, and differ only by two years for John McDonald's age while matching the number and sex of his dependents.

greatest success among those who had already considered emigration to Canada. What connections, if any, the lowland emigrants had in Canada are unknown. But in the northern and western Highlands, only the communities which had previously established ties with Upper Canada were represented in the 1815 migration. The northern counties and the Hebrides, which had produced large numbers of emigrants in the preceeding forty-five years, but not to Canadian destinations, did not participate in the government scheme.

The final point which must be made about the origin of the 1815 emigrants concerns the significance of the large west Highland presence in the emigration. Without the 209 emigrants from Glenelg, Knoydart, Fort Augustus and Glenshiel, the Highlands north of Perthshire would have been virtually unrepresented in the government-sponsored departure. On the other hand, in spite of the strong interest which Highlanders had shown in emigration, it is surprising that many Gaels took part in the scheme at all. Shortness of time, the distance to Glasgow, and in particular cultural barriers, all combined to make Highland participation in such an undertaking somewhat unlikely. Yet because of the substantial group of emigrants from Inverness-shire, the Highland counties north of Perthshire were actually over-represented. This area provided 30% of the emigrants in contrast to the 18% of the Scottish population which it possessed. Even more impressive is the fact that almost all of these emigrants left from a single parish, Glenelg. Although Glenelg had only 3/20 of one percent of the total Scottish population, it furnished 27% of the 699 emigrants.²⁷ Clearly this heavy over-representation of Glenelg people in the 1815 emigrant party demonstrates the urgent

27 Flinn, Scottish Population History, 302, 306. Also N.S.A. vol. IX, Glenelg, 35.

interest in emigration and the tremendous desire to reunite kin and community present in those Highland districts which already had overseas offshoots.

The assisted emigrants of 1815 travelled to Canada predominantly in family groups. On the passenger list, 145 people were listed as heads of household, of whom 24 were bachelors; 96% of the emigrants thus travelled with other family members.²⁸ Among the 121 married couples, the average family size was 5.6 persons. Nor surprisingly therefore, slightly more than half, 365 of the emigrants, were under fifteen years of age. While the average age of the 145 heads of household was 36.5 years, the median was 34 years, suggesting a number of somewhat older families.

The emigrant party can be divided into three groups: west Highlanders who settled in Glengarry (209); others who settled in Glengarry (145), making a total of 354 settlers in Glengarry; and emigrants who settled in the Rideau townships (345). The age and family structure of the 354 emigrants who settled in Glengarry was not substantially different from that of the whole group. For instance there were proportionally fewer bachelors, only eight being found in the Glengarry settlers, sixteen in the other group. A slightly larger percentage of the Glengarry group, 97%, thus travelled as part of a family; the 61 families had an average of 5.7 members. The age spread of the Glengarry settlers reflected the family bias of the emigrant party. One hundred and eighty-one of the 354 emigrants, a little more than half the group, were children of one month to fourteen years. The ages of the heads of household differed somewhat between the west Highlanders and the others. The age of the west

28 This does not include approximately half of the unmarried men who seem to have travelled with a brother.

Highland householders showed the greatest variation between the average and the median: 38.04 compared to 34 years. In contrast the average age of the other Glengarry settlers, 37.25, almost matched their higher median of 38 years.

The predominance of families in this emigration is not unexpected since the economics of the government plan favoured family emigration. The deposit of £16 per adult male and two guineas per adult female made the scheme advantageous to married couples, particularly those with children under sixteen years. On an unassisted passage, the fare of several children between two and fifteen years of age might well exceed that of their parents.²⁹ Correspondingly, unmarried men might have been able to obtain a passage to Canada for less than £16 unhampered by the restrictions of the government plan. Single women were not permitted to join the emigration except in the company of an unmarried brother. Scots families who joined the 1815 migration took advantage of what was the equivalent of a family excursion rate for emigration with a refund after two years when bona fides as a settler had been established.

Due at least in part to this economic advantage, the age spread of the emigrant party did not reflect that of Scottish society as a whole. While 51.9% of the Glengarry emigrants were aged 0 to 14 years, only 39.4% of the Highland population was in the same age group. The entire assisted emigrant party was slightly more unrepresentative of the Scottish community since 52.2% of the emigrants were children of 14 and under, in contrast to 37.9% of the Scottish population.³⁰ The

29 For example a family with children aged 7, 9, 11 and 13 would have to pay a $\frac{1}{2}$, two $\frac{3}{4}$, and one full fare for them, equal to three adult fares.

30 Flinn, Scottish Population History, 321.

west Highland emigrants included the largest number of older heads of household; these men had the highest average age, one that was greater than the median by four years. A link might well be drawn between this group of older emigrants and the long tradition of emigration to Canada that now existed in this district. Even the younger men of 25 to 40 years must have remembered friends and relatives who left the west coast on the Neptune in 1802. But of the 28 heads of household, there were seven men from Glenelg who were young adults in 1793 and five men from Knoydart of age in 1786, when large emigrant parties sailed from these districts.³¹ It is not unrealistic to suggest that the desire to reunite kin and community would have been stronger among those who had themselves known the previous generation of emigrants. Men of mature years had this further incentive to accept the government offer of an assisted passage and adopt the strenuous life of the pioneer.

As might be expected, there were certain differences in the range of occupations listed by the heads of household between those who settled in the Rideau townships and those who settled in Glengarry. Among the Rideau settlers, there was an almost equal number of farmers and craftsmen: 38% and 39% respectively.³² The remaining 22% of the party were labourers. In contrast, none of the 41 west Highlanders described themselves primarily as craftsmen.³³ Typical of the

31 They were Roderick McRae, 60; Alex. McRae, 68; John McCrimmon, 56; Alex. McRae, 46; Donald Campbell, 50; Malcolm McCuaig, 50; and Duncan McLellan, 50 from Glenelg. Alex. McDonell, 60; John McDonell, 60; Duncan McDonald, 56; Donald McDougall, 52; and Duncan McDougall, 50 were from Knoydart.

32 Craftsman is used here to describe the variety of skilled trades and service occupations reported by the emigrants. These include mason, carpenter, joiner, blacksmith, wright, weaver, tailor, shoemaker, gardener, shepherd, plowman, sadler, tanner, stocking maker, surgeon and teacher.

33 The dependent sons of one farmer were described as a carpenter and a tailor, while two farmers named their former occupations as that of tailor and of weaver respectively.

non-commercial society of the west coast, 80% of the men were farmers and 20% labourers. The status of labourer was confined almost exclusively to young, unmarried men or perhaps to those who had been displaced by improved agriculture.³⁴ The only exception to this was one young married man from Glenelg.

The occupational structure of the other Glengarry settlers differed from both their west Highland neighbours and the Rideau settlers. Only 28% of this group were listed as farmers; the remainder were equally divided between craftsmen and labourers. These Glengarry settlers were characterized by the lowest percentage of farmers and the highest percentage of labourers in the 1815 emigration. The government emigration scheme was designed to benefit those who could afford to emigrate. The farmers and craftsmen who dominated the groups settling in Glengarry and on the Rideau were the sturdy settlers whom Bathurst hoped to attract. Only 35 labourers, half of whom settled in Glengarry, managed to take advantage of the offer, although Allan McDonell's petition indicates that a large number of labourers were interested in emigration to Canada.

Family and community ties smoothed the path of departure for many of the 1815 Glengarry emigrants in a way that was not evident among the Rideau settlers. In three instances, separate families are identified as two generations of a single family. Thus Roderick McRae left Glenelg not only with his wife and four children aged 21 to 28, but also in the company of his married son John, aged 30, daughter-in-law and grand-daughter. Further kinship links doubtlessly

34 There were 4 bachelors from Glenelg parish between the ages of 22 and 28. Three married men from Fort Augustus, all subscribers to the petition of Allan McDonell, were described as labourers, but the Fort Augustus population had been substantially increased by the Glengarry clearances.

existed among the emigrants, but unfortunately these remain a matter of speculation. Jean McDougall, aged 24 and married to Angus McDonald, may well have been the daughter of Donald McDougall: his seven children ranged in age from 3 to 25, with a gap between James, 25 and Alex, 21. In other cases a shared religion provided a cohesive bond between emigrant families. At least six families from the area about Loch Tay were members of two Baptist congregations there.³⁵ Evidence furnished by the dates on which the deposits for the voyage were actually made suggests that many of the emigrants travelled the long road from the Highlands together. On 20th April and 28th April five and three families respectively from the district of Killin paid their deposits in Glasgow. Eight families from Glenelg registered on the same day in May, while a further eight families from Knoydart and twelve from Glenelg enrolled as emigrants together on July 14 and 15 respectively.

The placement of the 1815 assisted emigrants in two separate Upper Canadian communities was the result of administrative in-decision, but it also underlined a fundamental division which existed within the emigrant body.³⁶ The 1815 emigrants who settled in Glengarry County were predominantly Highlanders. The few Highland families who settled in the Rideau townships travelled outwith any former community group. Fifty-nine percent of the Glengarry settlers

35 Harkness, Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 128, 131. These would appear to be Allan McDiarmid and wife, Peter McDougall and wife, Duncan Campbell and wife, Donald McLaren and wife, Peter Stewart, and perhaps Annabella McDiarmid.

36 It was originally intended to put the emigrants on vacant land in Glengarry and adjacent counties, but colonial government pledges of land to the veterans of the war of 1812-14 and the children of the Loyalists made this difficult to accomplish both physically and politically. As a result the Rideau townships were set aside for some of the emigrants. See PAC MG11 Q320 (C042 vol. 357) Gore to Bathurst, 23 February 1816.

came from the west Highlands which by now had mature ties with the Upper Canadian county. Little is known concerning the links which the Rideau settlers may have had in Canada, but it seems reasonable to assume that no more than a small percentage had family or community ties with Canada.³⁷ The Rideau emigrants were a fairly disparate group, drawn from across lowland Scotland as well as from a few Highland locations, from urban and rural communities, and from a variety of cultural environments. The west coast emigrants, and to a certain extent the Perthshire emigrants, were leaving one Highland community for another. The new community differed markedly from the old in some respects, but the degree of cultural continuity was very high indeed.

(iii)

The assisted emigration organized by the government in 1815 merely whetted the Highlanders' already strong interest in emigration to Canada. The many letters and petitions sent by Highlanders to the Colonial Office and to the emigration agent, John Campbell, revealed their heightened expectations. They asked that the 1815 scheme be repeated in the coming year or that an even more liberal plan replace it. During the trying period of Napoleon's 100 days, Lord Bathurst had suggested that the restricted numbers assisted in 1815 might be added to in the coming year, but no firm decision was taken on the question. Campbell himself favoured an extension of the scheme.³⁸

37 Outwith Glengarry County there were no large Scottish settlements in 1815; there were small communities at Niagara and Baldoon.

38 Johnston, British Emigration Policy, 21-3. Regardless of any theoretical commitment to emigration, Campbell stood to profit if he were again given the task of supervising an assisted emigration from Scotland. His fee for three months work full-time and three months part-time in 1815 was £500. PAC Reel B134 C042/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 22 Nov 1815.

As early as October, Campbell wrote to Bathurst emphasizing "the political necessity or propriety of continuing the plan," referring to the correspondence received "particularly from the estates of Glenelg, Sutherland, and various outposts about Fort William."³⁹

Over the following winter, Campbell continued to press the Colonial Secretary for a second assisted emigration. Numerous enquiries poured into his office, especially from Glenelg and Skye. Many of these people had been unable to participate in the 1815 departure because of the minimal notice given or "the Lists being filled up."⁴⁰ The government's indecision on the issue of assisted emigration in the fall and winter of 1815-16 created anxiety throughout all levels of Highland society: "the minds of people both those that go and their Landlords and friends who remain are in a sort of suspense as to the result of the considerations of Government." Campbell believed that the economic distress felt across Scotland that winter called for further government action, although he qualified his assessment with a comment that he was aware that there were "many Croakers."⁴¹ However, the rejection in the House of Commons of the continuation of the wartime property tax in March 1816 spelled the end of the assisted emigrant program. The Colonial Office was forced to cut back heavily and in April 1816 Campbell was informed no assistance would be given that year.⁴²

The people of the west Highlands reacted strongly to the withdrawal of the government's emigration program. In November 1816, Donald McCrummen, a merchant at Broadford in Skye, drew up a memorial

39 PAC Reel B134 C042/165, Campbell to Bathurst, 14 Oct 1815.

40 PAC MG11 Q140, 125. Campbell to Bathurst, 20 Feb 1816.

41 PAC MG11 Q140, 128, Campbell to Goulburn, 21 Feb 1816.

42 Johnston, British Emigration Policy, 23.

to Lord Bathurst on behalf of several hundred people in the parishes of Glenelg, Kintail, Glenshiel, Lochalsh, Locheanan and Strath.⁴³ The population of this area had doubled over the previous sixty years, resulting in competition for land and high rents. Severe weather in 1816 and plummeting cattle prices compelled tenants to surrender their livestock to the landlords in order to pay even part of their rents. The petitioners despaired "of being able any longer to live in comfort in the land which has produced the Killed Heroes of Waterloo." Rather than accept a state of indigence, the tenants preferred "to remove with the wreck of their property to America where many of their relatives have been comfortably settled for several years and where in the late war they distinguished themselves by their attachment to the Mother Country."⁴⁴ Yet, the people of the west coast were unable to pay the £6 or £7 minimum that a passage across the Atlantic then cost. Many of them could, however, afford to pay £4 or £5 for the voyage. McCrummen therefore asked that the 1803 Emigration Act be modified so as to reduce the price of a fare and that some assistance be given to the emigrants, in the form of agricultural implements and provisions, on their arrival in Canada.

Two aspects of McCrummen's memorial on behalf of the people of the west Highlands deserve consideration. The first has to do with the nature of the economic choice facing Highlanders: crofting or emigration. McCrummen pointed out that more people could be provided with crofts if sheep farming were less prevalent, and by implication suggested that some would accept crofting with its minimal economic benefits. Yet in several passages, McCrummen made it evident that

43 PAC Reel B137 C042/170 (MG11 Q140, 335-40), Memorial of D. McCrummen, 20 November 1816.

44 This would appear to be a reference to the 1802 Neptune emigrants who left from this area and settled in Glengarry County.

many of the petitioners had known better days and that they preferred to emigrate "when they cannot enjoy the comforts or possess even the necessities of life." The second fact concerns the destination of the would-be emigrants. Their emigration was clearly directed towards a Gaelic community: "They wish to settle...surrounded by those relatives who have gone before them, who can converse with them in their own language, [and] assist them with their counsel and their means."

Lord Bathurst forwarded McCrummen's petition to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but Vansittart turned down Bathurst's suggestion that part of the cost of shipping and three months rations be granted the petitioners.⁴⁵ The fate of these west Highlanders is unknown, but their rejected memorial reveals ambitions and prospects common to many clansmen at this time. Without government assistance, however, whether in the form of an assisted passage as in 1815 or of an alteration to the 1803 Emigration Act, large numbers of Highlanders could not emigrate. The 1815 scheme stimulated the keen interest in emigration that already existed in the west Highlands. Yet in the following years, the British government proved unwilling to provide the financial and administrative assistance that would have aided large-scale Highland emigration to Canada.

The cancellation of the government scheme could not diminish the widespread interest in emigration in western Inverness in the post-war period; the steady impoverishment of the clansmen, however, made unlikely the organization of further large-scale emigrations to Glengarry County. Single families and small groups of emigrants had trickled into the county throughout the settlement years, but this type of emigration grew in significance after the Passenger Act

45 PAC Reel B3044, C043, Bathurst to Vansittart, 4 Jan 1817, Endorsement.

of 1803 made parish-wide departures difficult. With the exception of the assisted group in 1815, emigration to Glengarry after 1803 occurred chiefly on a small scale, although more substantial groups arrived from Duirinish, Skye in 1816, from Loch Tay between 1817 and 1820, and from Skye in 1832. By the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, no large blocks of Crown land remained in the county.⁴⁶ The frontier of settlement with its vast tracts of ungranted lands lay up the Ottawa valley and in the western districts of Upper Canada, or in the cheaper, more accessible destinations of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. To these locations, later generations of Highland emigrants were drawn. However the scattered lots available in Glengarry were eagerly taken up by the small, but steady flow of Highland families who emigrated to the county in the forty-five years after 1815 to join friends and relatives already settled there.

(iv)

Not surprisingly almost all the emigrants who reached Glengarry County during this forty-five year period came from the same Highland districts that had provided earlier generations of emigrants. In 1819, four-year-old Marcella Macdonald left Knoydart for Glengarry, presumably in the company of her parents, and perhaps her siblings. This Macdonald family were joining an extensive kin group already in Canada, since they were closely related to the brothers Ranald, Rory

46 See the following two chapters for a description of the progress of settlement to 1815. Not all the assisted emigrants could be accommodated in Glengarry: some were settled further north in the adjacent township of West Hawkesbury. The land in Glengarry for the 1815 emigrants was made available by the lifting of the Crown reserve on them. Land had been reserved in northern Lancaster Township, Glengarry, as in all other townships organized after 1791, for eventual sale for the benefit of the colony.

Og and Alexander Macdonell, all of whom had large and by then adult families.⁴⁷ In 1822 Angus and Flora McDonell with their children, Janet (9), Ranald (4) and William (2) also emigrated from Knoydart to settle among relatives in Glengarry.⁴⁸ In 1827, twenty-year-old Ranald D. McDonell came to the county with his parents and most likely his siblings from Inverness-shire.⁴⁹ At least one family left Morar for Glengarry during this period: Archibald McGillis, his wife Penelope and daughter emigrated on the ship Morningfield in the summer of 1816.⁵⁰

Inevitably families were to some degree broken apart by the decision to leave the Highlands, but this break was often mended by succeeding emigrations. The history of the MacIssac Macdonalds of Knoydart is a case in point.⁵¹ Ranald MacIssac's eldest son, Donald, emigrated to Australia some time before 1830. However, Ranald's second son Jock, with his wife and two small children left Scotland for Canada in 1831. The young family sailed on the Tamerlane, accompanied by a close friend, Big Jim MacDonald. The elderly Ranald MacIssac and his wife Janet Cameron followed Jock to Glengarry a few years later in 1837 with their other five children. While most of the Macdonalds were thus reunited in Canada, family ties with Donald were

47 Glengarry News, 14 July and 11 August 1805, Obituary of Mrs. Ranald McDonald. Also P.A.O. Father Ewen John Macdonald Coll., A-3-2, Genealogy of Rory Og.

48 1851 Canadian Census, Glengarry County, Lancaster Twp., Personal Census, 121. Also Glengarry News, 9 Feb 1906, Obituary of Wm. McDonell.

49 Glengarry News, 3 Oct 1902, Obituary of Ranald D. McDonald.

50 PAC Reel C-2235, UCLP, M Leases, vol. 379A, no. 196: Archibald McGillis.

51 Leroy Guldán, The MacIssac MacDonald Story, (2nd edition, edited by Norbert Ferré, Cornwall, 1978). In the 1767 plan of improvement for Bairsdale, Angus Ban's father, Donald Ban Macdonell, is described as "alias McKiasaig"; see SRO E741/43, 1767 Plan, Muniall. There also appears to be a second McKiasaig family on the neighbouring farm of Lee; see SRO E741/31/2/2, Butter's report on Lt. R. MacLeod's application for Lee.

permanently broken. Ranald's decision to follow Jock rather than Donald may have been based on the comparative cheapness of the Canadian voyage, but it is also possible that the MacIssacs were distant relations of Angus Ban Macdonell, one of the leaders of the 1786 emigration.

The communities to the north of Knoydart, Kintail and particularly Glenelg, also continued to send a steady stream of emigrants to Glengarry County. Norman McLeod, his wife and newborn son left Swordland, Glenelg in July 1816; two years later Patrick McCuaig followed with his wife and seven children. In 1832 several Glenelg families including Angus Campbell's, accompanied a large emigrant party from Skye to Glengarry.⁵² The following decade saw still further emigration from Glenelg: in 1842 Angus and Janet McCuaig arrived in Glengarry with seven children, in 1843 Duncan and Sally Campbell came with three children, and in 1849 Donald McLeod reached Canada with his family. The latter included Donald's wife, a niece, six unmarried children, a married daughter, son-in-law and two grandchildren.⁵³ From neighbouring Kintail, Ann and George McRae came to Glengarry with two children in 1847.⁵⁴ These west coast families were part of the small-scale, but continuous emigration into Glengarry County after 1815.

Like the Knoydart and Glenelg settlers, the 1815 emigrants from the area about Loch Tay in Perthshire also attracted further emigration to the same Canadian destination. Most of the later Perthshire

52 The MacLeods of Glengarry, 285, 291. Also interview with Mrs. Sybil McPhee.

53 For McCuaig, see Glengarry News, 9 March 1906, Obituary of Donald McCuaig and 1851 Manuscript Census, Lochiel Twp., 103. For Campbell, see Glengarry News, 19 Dec 1902, Obituary of Donald Campbell. For McLeod, see The MacLeods of Glengarry, 317-8.

54 Glengarry News, 23 Feb 1906, Obituary of Mrs. George McRae.

settlers arrived in the five years after 1815, when the assisted emigrants themselves had barely organized their new homes. At least twenty-three families arrived in the county during this time; these families were described as "almost without exception" being both "large and helpless."⁵⁵ Many of the Loch Tay emigrants had recently become Congregationalists, a religious persuasion which did not endear them to their Episcopal landlord. Local agricultural resources were under considerable pressure from a rapidly growing population and the conversion of small tenant farms into large sheep farms. The decision to emigrate to Glengarry was based on a desire both for land and for religious freedom in the neighbourhood of old friends.

One of the first families to leave Loch Tay for Glengarry after the assisted emigration was that of Finlay Sinclair who arrived in Canada in 1816. The following year a larger group of families left Loch Tay to join friends in Glengarry. Among these were Donald McDougall, his wife and five children, and his sister Janet, her husband Malcolm Fisher, and their family.⁵⁶ The McDougalls and Fishers had shared the same farm, Callelochan, on Loch Tay and they were accompanied or followed by other neighbours and relatives. Hugh McEwen, who married a McDougall, emigrated in 1819 and his brother John left the next year.⁵⁷ James Anderson and Duncan and John Kippen

55 PAC UCS, vol. 51, 25342-4, Petition to Sir P. Maitland, dated Indian Lands, 13 Feb 1821. Twenty-three of the thirty-two petitioners have names that are most likely of a Perthshire origin. Certain families have definitely been identified as natives of Loch Tay and local tradition states that most of the families came from the same general area with the exception of one Kippen family.

56 Glengarry News, 16 March 1906, Obituary of Donald Sinclair. Also interview with Mrs. Sybil McPhee. Local tradition emphasizes that the emigrants were rejoining friends from the 1815 group.

57 P.A.O. Mss. Glen. Coll.: Kippen etc. families, Letter from Hugh McEwen. Also Glengarry News, 10 Oct 1902, Obituary of Janet McEwen; and interview with Mrs. Sybil McPhee.

also came to Glengarry during this period, but at least one family, that of Robert Kippen from Croftmartaig, left Perthshire considerably later in 1833.⁵⁸ The Tayside emigrants were the only major group of settlers in Glengarry County who did not come from the west Highlands. Like their northern compatriots, the Perthshire emigrants came to the county in successive, albeit small, groups of generally young families; they were drawn there by ties of kin and by the availability of land.

Glengarry County also attracted emigrants from Skye although very few, if any, arrived before 1816. The people of Skye had first established settlements in the old colonies of Georgia and Carolina in the early years of Highland emigration. After the American Revolution, many Skye emigrants choose to go instead to Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, two colonies which drew emigrants from across the Hebrides. The Skye emigrants who came to Glengarry were likely following in the footsteps of the substantial number of Glenelg emigrants to the county. Both Glenelg, and Bracadale in Skye, from which the Glengarry emigrants came, were part of MacLeod of Dunvegan's estate. Knowledge of the opportunities available in Glengarry travelled from one part of the estate to another and tenants from Skye and Glenelg often journeyed together to the county.

The first Skye emigrants to settle in Glengarry were part of a group of seventeen families who left Duirinish in the summer of 1816. When these families found themselves unable to pay their rent because of the fall in the price of cattle and other agricultural products, they "resolved to emigrate", under the leadership of Norman

58 PAC UCS: vol. 51, 25342-4, Petition to Sir P. Maitland, 13 Feb 1821. Also P.A.O. Mss. Glen. Coll. Kippen etc. families.

Stewart, rather than endure further distress.⁵⁹ When the sailing of the Brig John and Samuel was delayed until late in August, Norman Stewart, doubtlessly with the 1815 experiment in mind, petitioned the Colonial Secretary for provisions to see the emigrants through the winter and for a grant of land. Bathurst did not have the funds to provide rations for the emigrants but he did write to the Commander-in-Chief in Quebec on their behalf, recommending that Sherbrooke give them assistance to survive the winter.⁶⁰ Most of the emigrants reached Glengarry in October 1816 and at least one family stayed in the county.⁶¹ Isabelle McLeod, the widow of Ranald Stewart of Big Carbost, settled in Glengarry with her ten children, aged 3 to 26. Twelve years later in 1828, Murdoch Stewart also left the same district in Skye for Glengarry; Stewart was accompanied by his wife, Ann Macdonald, and seven children.⁶²

It was primarily from Skye and Glenelg that the last substantial group of emigrants came to settle in Glengarry in 1832. These emigrants left Greenock on the ship Fanny on 28th August and reached Quebec on 4th October after a speedy five week voyage. The economic condition of most Highland tenants had declined since the 1816 emigrants had left Skye for Glengarry and many could no longer pay for

59 PAC MG11 Q321, 128 (C042/358), Memorial of Norman Stewart, 27 Aug 1816.

60 PAC "C" Series, Reel C-3158, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, October 1816, no. 40.

61 At least five other Duirinish families arrived in Glengarry at the same time as the one family that stayed, but the difficulty they had in acquiring a Crown grant led them to settle across Lake St. Francis from Glengarry in Godmanchester, Lower Canada, in May 1818. It seems probable that most of the remaining eleven families took up land either in Glengarry or its vicinity. See PAC RG1 L3L vol. 131, Reel C-2543, 64296-8, Petition of Norman McDonnell, etc. 12 Nov 1818.

62 Glengarry Life, (Glengarry Historical Society, 1980), 17. Glengarry News, 21 April 1905, Obituary of Lachlan Stewart, son of Murdoch, who emigrated to Glengarry in 1828. Also interview with Mrs. Sybil McPhee and Mrs. Harriet McKinnon.

an Atlantic crossing. In the same period, however, Highland landlords had completely abandoned their former opposition to emigration and some began to offer assisted passages to Canada.⁶³ Evictions were widespread in Bracadale and Duirinish in the 1820s and 1830s; many of MacLeod's dispossessed tenants applied for assistance to emigrate to Canada. Yet, according to a very strongly held Glengarry tradition, the people who sailed on the Fanny paid their own fares and bought their own provisions for the voyage. Although the emigrants reached Canada with few worldly possessions, their independent crossing of the Atlantic suggests that they belonged to the same group of substantial tenants that dominated earlier migrations to Canada.⁶⁴

The exact number of emigrants from the Fanny who settled in Glengarry is unknown, but at least forty settlers can be identified as passengers from the vessel. Included in the group were a considerable number of young adult men and women, some newly married and others shortly to be so, as well as families with children. Ties of kin and community bound many of the emigrants to one another, and in a few cases to earlier Glengarry settlers. From Bracadale, Skye came the Macdonalds, Stewarts and McPhees. Norman Macdonald and his wife Margaret arrived in Canada with three adult daughters, Mary, Catherine and Anne. John McPhee, who married Catherine, was accompanied by his two sisters, while John Cameron, whose wife Anne became, travelled with his brother Angus and nephew Norman. Mary Macdonald left with her husband Murdoch McRae, his brother Kenneth, and her own

63 Quebec Gazette, October 1832. Also Hunter, Crofting Community, 40-8.

64 Interview with Mrs. Sybil McPhee. A few of the 1832 emigrants may have had quite substantial holdings in Scotland; the Stewarts of Carbost were one such family. The majority of the emigrants were likely joint-tenants or the children of such.

young family. The Macdonalds and the Stewarts had become kinsmen through the marriage of Norman Macdonald's sister Anne to Murdoch Stewart many years before their emigration to Glengarry in 1828. Anne and Murdoch's daughter, Mary, married another of the Fanny passengers, Alexander Stewart, himself a cousin of the 1816 Stewart emigrants. A tangled web created by marriage and sibling relationships united the Bracadale emigrants.⁶⁵

Other emigrants on the Fanny also travelled in similar social groups and a few were related to the Skye families. Four Campbell brothers, one of whom married a Stewart, were among the migrants. From Glenelg came Malcolm McLeod, a widower, and his son and daughter, as well as Donald Dewar and his wife Jessie McLeod.⁶⁶ Alexander Grant left Ardersier in eastern Inverness-shire with his wife and child, while John McLeod was accompanied by his family of four and David Urquhart by his young wife. Some of those left behind by the departure of the Fanny joined their friends in Glengarry in later years. Thus Norman Cameron was reported to have returned to Scotland to bring his father to Canada: Donald Cameron, his wife and six children reached Glengarry sometime after 1835, accompanied by another six families. The migration of Jessie's brother Donald McLeod and his family occurred in 1849.⁶⁷ A very complex series of kin and community ties united the 1832 emigrants, and those who followed them to Canada in later years. These clansmen chose to leave Scotland because of the loss of traditional tenant lands to sheep farmers. Rather than accept the miniscule portions of land allotted to them

65 Interviews with Mrs. Sybil McPhee and Mrs. Harriet McKinnon.

66 MacLeods of Glengarry, 291, 317.

67 Interview with Mrs. Sybil McPhee; also PAC 1851 Canadian Census, Glengarry Co., Kenyon Twp., Personal, 127, Donald Cameron. Also MacLeods of Glengarry, 317.

in the new crofting townships, the 1832 emigrants turned to the abundant lands of Upper Canada and to their kin and neighbours in Glengarry County.

(v)

Not all those who settled in Glengarry went directly there from Scotland. Reference has already been made to families from the 1786, 1790, and 1802 emigrations who stayed varied lengths of time in Lower Canada before proceeding to Glengarry. This practice increased after 1800 when land became somewhat less available in the county and the acquisition of a Crown grant no longer followed automatically on arrival in Glengarry. In some instances, emigrants who intended to settle in the Highland community were forced to take up land on its fringes. At least five of the seventeen families who left Duirinish in 1816 fell into this group. In November 1818 their spokesman Norman McDonell petitioned the Lower Canadian government for land in Godmanchester, across the St. Lawrence from Glengarry's southeasterly township, Lancaster. McDonell explained that the emigrants had arrived in the eastern district of Upper Canada in October 1816, but "the situation of such land as they could then obtain from the Government in upper Canada...being very inconvenient," they waited for more land to be surveyed. Finally in May 1818 they decided to lease land near Godmanchester.⁶⁸ Only emigrants determined to settle in a Highland district would have endured such delays and inconvenience when land remained cheap and plentiful in the western regions of the province. Some of those who settled in Godmanchester later acquired

68 PAC Reel C-2543, 64296-8, RG1 L3L, vol. 131, Petition of Norman McDonell etc., 12 Nov 1818.

land in Glengarry. Thus Neil McGillis and family arrived in the Lower Canadian township between 1827 and 1831, but moved into Glengarry shortly after 1845.⁶⁹

A number of Highland emigrants came to Glengarry County after some years in Nova Scotia, 800 miles away to the east. In 1797, for instance, "many years after leaving Scotland," the families of Donald, Angus and John McDonald, and John McLellan left Nova Scotia for Glengarry. The land which these men had been granted "proved so barren as hardly to afford subsistence to their numerous families." The emigrants received letters from "their friends settling in Upper Canada inviting them to go and settle there, where the soil is more fertile [and] the climate is milder." Despairing of success at Pictou, the four families accepted the invitation and "disposed of their little all" in order to pay their passage to Quebec. With their funds thereby exhausted, they petitioned the Governor-in-Chief, Robert Prescott, for assistance to complete the journey; their request was granted and a batteau was provided to take them upriver, doubtlessly to Glengarry. Clearly, families and friends, separated by emigration to different destinations, did sometimes keep in touch and could be reunited.⁷⁰

Similar problems in settling Nova Scotia and family ties to Glengarry County may have also led another eight families to the county from the Maritime province by 1851. Some of these emigrants stayed only a short time in Nova Scotia before moving on to Glengarry. Angus McGillis and his eldest son were both born in Scotland before 1834, while the younger children were born in Cape Breton

69 PAC 1851 Canadian Census, Glengarry Co., Lancaster Twp., 15.

70 PAC Reel C-3043, "C" Series, vol. 505, 38-40a, Petition to His Excellency, Robert Prescott, dated Quebec, 1 Aug 1797.

between 1837 and 1841; similarly Duncan and Sally McGillis were natives of Scotland, their three older children were born in Cape Breton between 1844 and 1848, while the youngest, Ewen, was born in Canada in 1849.⁷¹ Other families seem to have spent several decades in the Maritimes before leaving for Glengarry. Donald McDonald was born in Scotland in 1788, but his wife Elizabeth was born in Nova Scotia in 1795; after spending their first part of their married life in Nova Scotia, the McDonalds travelled to Glengarry between 1847 and 1850.⁷²

Movement between Nova Scotia and Glengarry was not a one way street, but rather occurred in both directions. Several Highlanders born in Nova Scotia emigrated to Glengarry, presumably as young adults; one Alex McDougald, born in Nova Scotia in 1789, married a Canadian-born wife in Glengarry in 1823.⁷³ On the other hand, Stephen McDonald went from Glengarry to visit relatives in Nova Scotia; once there he found employment as a teacher and eventually married. The vagaries of fate sometimes determined the ultimate destination of an emigrant. In 1817 Roderick Kennedy and his son John left Glengarry, Scotland to join kinsmen already settled in its Upper Canadian namesake, but their ship landed in Pictou rather than Montreal so they settled instead in Nova Scotia.⁷⁴ Although emigration to Glengarry County occurred most frequently in groups of related families and neighbours, it was, given the complex nature of

71 PAC 1851 Canadian Census, Glengarry Co., Lancaster, 51, Angus McGillis; Charlottenburgh, 214-5, Duncan McGillis.

72 *Ibid.*, Lochiel, 53, Donald McDonald; Kenyon, 21-3, Hugh McDonald and family also fit this description.

73 *Ibid.*, Kenyon, 47, Alex McDougald; also Lancaster, 19, for Donald McGillis, born in Cape Breton in 1786, lived in Glengarry by 1832 when his son was born there; and Charlottenburgh, 96, for Duncan McGillivray, born in Nova Scotia in 1817, lived in Charlottenburgh in 1851.

74 Raymond MacLean, ed., History of Antigonish, (Antigonish, 1976), 57-8, 111-12.

Highland kinship, clearly impossible for entire kin groups to migrate together. Some of the kinsmen of the Glengarry County emigrants were bound to be swept up in the large-scale Highland emigration to the Atlantic colonies of British North America. Nonetheless communication and movement between Glengarry County and Nova Scotia promoted a certain sense of community between the two Highland areas.

One of the striking features of the post-1815 emigration to Glengarry County is the long period over which emigrants continued to arrive in the county. Years after Crown land ceased to be readily available in Glengarry, Highland emigrants, in small but still significant numbers, chose that county or its vicinity as their new home. In the decade or two following the great group emigrations of 1786 to 1815, it is not surprising that Highlanders continued to join friends and relatives settled in Glengarry. The attraction of the solidly Gaelic community of Glengarry with its assemblage of Highland families outweighed the disadvantage of lesser quantities of cheap land. But that such emigration should persist into the 1840s and 1850s is evidence of the powerful bond that united the people of Glengarry County and those of the west Highlands.

Several of these later emigrants have already been identified, as they were part of the continuing emigration from particular west Highland districts to Glengarry County.⁷⁵ Although there is as yet no evidence concerning the parishes of origin of the other forty-odd, Scottish-born families resident in the county in 1861, it seems probable that most came from the same districts.⁷⁶ Twenty-six of these

75 The families of George McRae in 1847 and Donald McLeod in 1849.

76 Only families with children twenty and under born in Scotland were included in this estimate, taken from the PAC 1861 Glengarry Co. Census; such families obviously emigrated some time after 1840. Other Scottish-born residents were not counted. Most of these would have emigrated in the earlier part of the century, but a few, particularly young adults, were possibly recent emigrants.

families can be identified as Roman Catholics. The families of the two John McDougals, of Angus and of Margaret McPherson, of John McGillivray and Archibald McPhee were likely from Knoydart, Kenneth Corbet's family from Glengarry; the twelve McDonald and McDonell families and Alex Kennedy's family from either Glengarry or Knoydart. The families of the two Donald McLellans, and of John and Archie McKinnon likely came from Knoydart or vicinity, while Donald McRae and John Chisholm possibly left from Kintail and Strathglass. Similarly, the Presbyterian families of Angus and Malcolm Bethune, Farquhar McCrimmon, Alex Matheson, John McFee and Alex McDonald may well have been from Skye; those of George and Christopher McRae from Kintail; and of Duncan Cattanach, Alex McLauchlan, Hugh Fraser and John McMillan from eastern Inverness-shire.⁷⁷ The family names of these emigrants who reached Glengarry between 1845 and 1860 were no different from the names of those who had arrived in the preceeding sixty years.

By mid-nineteenth century, the old Highland tenant, a man of some property and status, had disappeared, either gone to Canada, moved to the Lowlands, or reduced to the status of a crofter. The economic condition of the crofters hit a wretched low in the years following 1845 when the potato crop failed and forced the sale of what few possessions they still held. It is highly probable that the forty families who came to Glengarry between 1845 and 1860 did so to escape extreme deprivation. Some may well have had their fares paid by their landlord, a charitable society, or relatives in Canada.

77 PAC 1861 Canadian Census, Glengarry Co., Lancaster, 9, 11, 22, 33, 37, 63, 81, 85, 90, 93, 100; Lochiel, 1, 2, 7, 13, 14, 19, 21, 40, 41, 44, 45, 71, 111; Charlottenburgh, 36, 37, 85, 119, 124, 125, 133; Kenyon, 7, 20, 23, 30, 54, 63, 71, 82 & 85, 91 & 93, 106.

In 1853 Lady Glengarry offered the Knoydart crofters a free passage to Canada before evicting those who would not emigrate. Twelve Roman Catholic families reached Glengarry County at this time and some of the assisted Knoydart crofters may well have been among them.⁷⁸

(vi)

Until the 1803 Passenger Act put the cost of a passage beyond the reach of most Highland tenant families, west coast emigrants were able to leave Scotland in the large community emigrations that they preferred. The 1815 emigrants, by virtue of the government's extraordinary support, were also able to travel in this fashion. After 1815, however, the choices open to Highlanders narrowed as the loss of land that was threatened in the late eighteenth century became a reality. Although sheep farms had spread rapidly northwards by 1800, much land then remained in the tenants' possession; thirty years later the great majority of the Highland population struggled to survive on land peripheral to the new agricultural economy. The possibility of a group departure, except for an assisted emigration, was unlikely, while those who did leave could more often afford the cheaper passage to Nova Scotia than the more costly voyage to Canada. Where emigrants of the first period chose to emigrate to Glengarry to obtain land in company of kinsmen, emigrants of later years more often chose, or were forced, to leave Scotland to save their families from miserable subsistence or even starvation. At the same time, Glengarry itself ceased to be the most appropriate destination even for Highland emigrants. Land in Glengarry was mostly occupied and

78 Hunter, Crofting Community, 85. Also Macdonell, Sketches of Glengarry, 152, who mentions an area of Glengarry County named Little Knoydart, after the Scottish home of its 1850s settlers.

relatively costly in contrast to the newer Highland communities, such as those in Ontario, Grey and Bruce counties, on the edge of settlement.

Even so emigrants continued to come to Glengarry County in the nineteenth century. Fifty years after the line of settlement moved north or far to the west of Glengarry, the strong ties of kinship led Highland emigrants to the Upper Canadian county and cousins they might never have seen. In 1850 John McKinnon, aged 60 and accompanied by his wife and nine children, arrived in Glengarry from Scotland. The McKinnons were related to Angus McDonald, who was born in Glengarry County in 1802, and they stayed for a time with his family.⁷⁹ On some occasions the chain of emigration had several links and continued over many years. Thus Coll and Samuel McDonell came to Canada about 1815; Angus and Flora McDonell, one a sibling and the other a spouse, followed in 1822;⁸⁰ and Flora, Angus and Mary McDonald, "nearest friends," joined them in 1850.⁸¹ While the circumstances and manner of their departure had changed substantially, the identity of the emigrants of the earlier and later periods remained remarkably similar. The same names were found in the lists of emigrants after 1815 as were there before: Macdonald, McPhee, McKinnon or McLeod. The same Highland districts were given as their homes: Glengarry, Knoydart, or Glenelg. The people who emigrated to Glengarry County from western Inverness after 1815 were drawn there

79 PAC 1851 Canadian Census, Glengarry Co., Lancaster Twp., 109-11, Family of John McKinnon and of Angus McDonald, Con. 9, lot 31 W. In the 1861 Canadian census, Glengarry Co., John McKinnon and family lived in Lochiel; see Lochiel, 40.

80 Glengarry News, 9 Feb 1906, Obituary of William McDonell.

81 "Nearest friends" was often used as a synonym for kinsmen by Highlanders, PAC 1851 Canadian census, Glengarry Co., Lancaster Twp., 121.

by family and community bonds, and continued an emigration tradition that was as old as the county itself. Between 1784 and 1860, many western Inverness communities had been divided across settlements in Scotland and those in Canada, but by mid-nineteenth century, if they were substantially united again, it was in Glengarry County, Canada.

Chapter 11

Settlement, 1784-1797

(1)

The story of Highland emigration to Glengarry County would not be complete without a description of settlement there, of how and where the emigrants received land and first settled in Canada. Emigration and settlement are part of a single story: the settlement experience of the first emigrants influenced later emigration as did changing policies and conditions of land acquisition.

The bountiful resources and easily available land of America had long stirred imaginations in Europe. Yet, during the years of incessant war between French and English colonists, the upper St. Lawrence and lower Great Lakes region were too exposed to be settled. After the peace of 1763, this region was set aside as a reserve for the Indian allies of the British Crown. But following the loss of the southern part of North America in 1783, the British government opened western Quebec to the Loyalist refugees. In 1791 the eight-year old Loyalist settlements were separated from the French sections of the province and the colony of Upper Canada was created. First impressions of the new colony were extremely favourable and one officer commented: "I think the Loyalists may be the happiest people in America by settling this country."¹

Government surveyors laid out the new Loyalist settlements in two ranges of townships along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario.² They located nine townships on the north shore of the St. Lawrence,

1 Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, The Canadian Centenary Series, (Toronto, 1963), 5.

2 Other Loyalists settled in the Niagara peninsula, the British territory most convenient to their former homes in New York and Pennsylvania.

immediately west of the French seigneuries, and laid out a further five townships at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, running westward from its mouth at Cataraqui, later Kingston. The two most easterly of these fourteen townships were united in the county of Glengarry after the creation of Upper Canada. The government surveyor, Patrick McNiff, described the two townships in quite enthusiastic terms. Lancaster (originally Lake) township was adjacent to the French settlements of Lower Canada: "The land in front of the township is generally low and Wet and will require a number of small drains cut thro. it to make it fit for Culture[;] the land five and six Concessions back is much better being high and dry Interspersed with Wild Meadows." The land in the front of the more westerly Glengarry township, Charlottenburgh, was also "flat, but very Rich," while a few miles inland it became "high and stoney."³ Like the rest of Upper Canada, the Glengarry townships were of course covered with "great virgin forests" that were a formidable obstacle to cultivation.⁴

The flat land on the front of Glengarry County was poorly drained and required time-consuming labour to be brought into production. Originally covered with moisture-loving trees such as the American elm, white ash and red maple, the land when cleared was notable for a deep, black soil. In contrast, the northern two-thirds of the county was characterized by a rolling landscape, with a series of ridges roughly parallel to the St. Lawrence river. The intervening flats included swamps and clay soils, the latter of a loamy texture, chemically immature. The outstanding feature of the soil in the northern part of the county was its stoniness. The clay itself was

3 PAC National Map Collection, Patrick McNiff, A Plan of the New Settlements, 1 Nov 1786.

4 Craig, Upper Canada, 7.

pelted with stones, while the ridges were often areas of boulder pavement, a product, according to geologists, of the ancient Champlain Sea.⁵

Land was the most significant resource of the new colony and policies concerning its use were therefore of extreme importance. Under the direction of the imperial government, the Governor and Executive Council of the colony, not the local assembly, regulated the Crown Lands of Upper Canada.⁶ During the first forty years of Upper Canadian development, Crown land was officially available to settlers as a free grant. Only in 1826, long after the major emigrations to Glengarry County had occurred, was the policy of land sales introduced. In the first years of settlement, the imperial government compensated the Loyalists with grants of land free even of survey and patent fees. Land was also readily granted to incoming settlers and used to compensate public officials for their services.

Gradually, however, the imperial and colonial governments shifted towards a policy of regarding land as a source of revenue. In 1791, the imperial government set aside substantial reserves of land to be sold when prices had risen, thereby providing an income for the government and for the Protestant clergy of the province. Five years later the imperial government suggested that the expenses of land granting be borne by the recipients, and the Upper Canadian administration imposed survey and patent fees on new grants. The cost of the two fees on a standard lot of 200 acres rose from £4.16s.2d in 1796 to £8.4s.1d in 1804. Other changes made during this period in the procedure for acquiring a grant made it much more difficult for

5 L.J. Chapman & D.F. Putman, The Physiography of Southern Ontario, (Toronto, 1951), 247-9, 252.

6 Lillian Gates, Land Policies of Upper Canada, (Toronto, 1968), 303.

new settlers to obtain land.⁷ The major emigrations to Glengarry County fell across the period when Upper Canada was moving towards a more restrictive land policy; the latter stages of settlement in the new Highland community were affected by that change.

(ii)

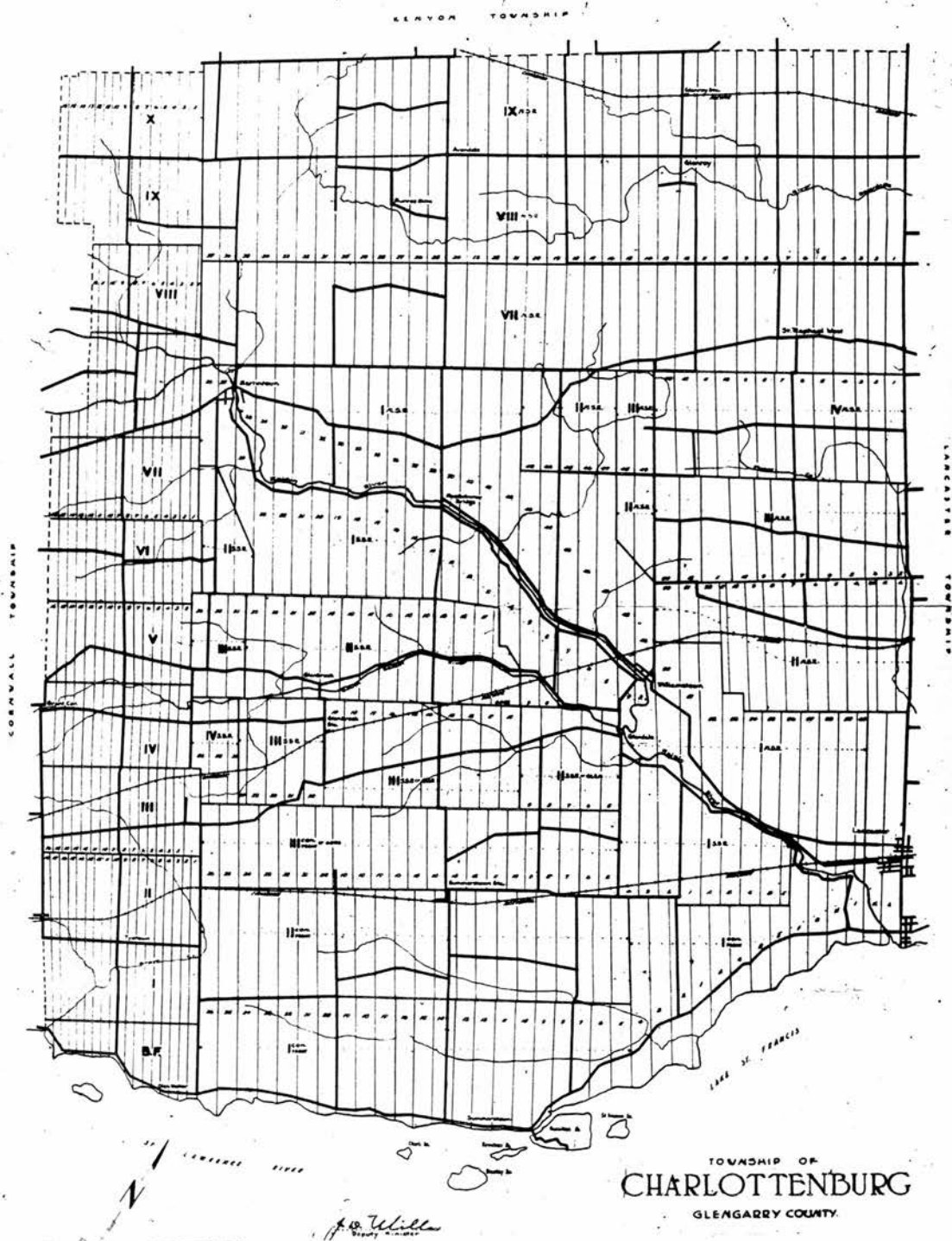
Between 1784 and 1787 some 1300 people came to Glengarry, and the basic pattern of settlement was established in the new county. The Loyalists arrived first in 1784, but they were followed almost immediately by the 1785 emigrants from Glengarry and Glenmoriston, and the 1786 emigrants from Knoydart. The Loyalists, the first group to settle in Glengarry County, faced the most challenging conditions but at the same time enjoyed the most substantial support. The imperial government was faithful to its promise to reward its American supporters for their loyalty, and the Governor of Quebec, Sir Frederick Haldimand, was extremely sympathetic to their needs and ambitions. Government batteaux carried the Loyalists from refugee camps in the French part of the province to the new townships, where they received provisions for over two years until after the harvest of 1786. In addition, the Loyalist families were issued an assortment of clothing, household goods and farm tools, and a share in some livestock.⁸ Finally, land was given to them in the best locations in the new settlements.

The lands north of the St. Lawrence were first surveyed in 1783 and the work was completed the following summer. With such a large task in hand, only enough land to settle the Loyalists was laid out at

7 Gates, Land Policies, 24, 30, 45-6, 48, 69-70.

8 Craig, Upper Canada, 7-8. PAC RG4 A1 "S" Series, vol. 33. Reel C-3002, 10772, Account of donations....

Charlottenburgh (south half)¹



this time; the remainder of the townships were surveyed when needed for later emigrants. The lots laid out by the surveyor were 200 acres in size and rectangular in shape, one quarter of a mile wide and a mile and a quarter deep. Some 37 lots stretched across the nine-mile width of each township. Each single row of lots was known as a concession and the Glengarry townships, numbered up from the river, were at first 18 concessions deep.

In Charlottenburgh, the surveyor adjusted this pattern of parallel concessions to take advantage of the transport and communication route offered by the River Raisin.⁹ The river flows from the north-west edge of the township in a south-easterly direction to its mouth on the St. Lawrence. Two concessions, one on either side of the Raisin River, followed the flow of the river diagonally across the township and produced a staggered march in the line of adjacent concessions. Only the front concession on the St. Lawrence and the 7th, 8th and 9th concessions, north of the Raisin, run in a straight line from one side of the township to the other. A considerable amount of confusion later arose from the uncommon layout of the township in which a single geographical line of lots might contain parts of several concessions.¹⁰

The Loyalists arrived in the newly-surveyed townships in June 1784. The government had decided to settle the Loyalists together in their military units and the King's Royal Regiment of New York was assigned the first five townships west of the French seigneuries. The

9 PAC Nat. Map Coll. F 430 Charlottenburgh Township, 1953.

10 For instance the straight line that begins with lots L and K, and 60 to 50 of the 1st concession North Side of the River (1st con. N.R.R.), continues with lots 5 to 9, 2nd concession South side of the River (2nd con. S.S.R.), then with lots 10 to east $\frac{1}{2}$ 24, 3rd con. S.S.R., and with lots west $\frac{1}{2}$ 24 to 26 in the 4th concession S.R.R. This immensely complicated survey, combined with the repetitious nature of Highland surnames, created great confusion.

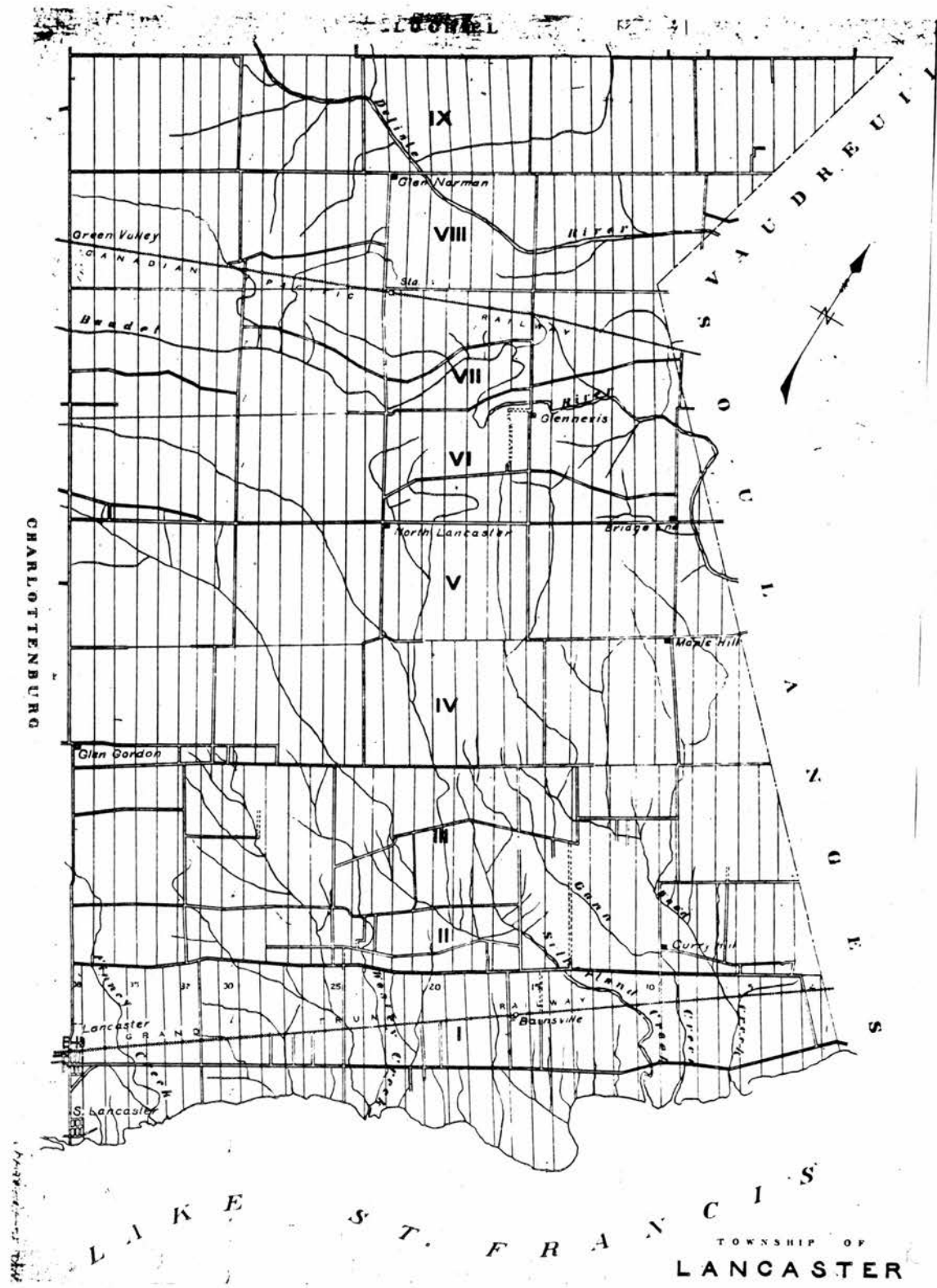
Scottish Catholic and Presbyterian soldiers of the regiment were placed chiefly in the first two townships, while most of the German and English members of the regiment settled in the other three further west. Highlanders who had served in other units, principally the 84th Regiment and Butler's Rangers, joined their countrymen in Lancaster and Charlottenburgh townships and spilled over into the adjacent Cornwall. Sir John Johnson's decision to put the Scottish members of his regiment in the two most easterly townships may have been designed to place the Roman Catholic men of his unit near their co-religionists in the French settlements. Aside from this consideration, the particular location in Upper Canada of the new Highland community was the result of mere chance.

The Royal Instructions of July 1783 had set out the amount of land Loyalists were to receive and promised such grants were to be free of either survey or patent fees. The heads of Loyalist families and discharged privates were all to be given 100 acres of land for themselves and 50 acres for each additional family member. Single men were also to receive 50 acres, while non-commissioned officers were promised 200 acres. The grants to higher ranks were of course much larger: 500 acres for subalterns, staff and warrant officers; 700 acres for captains; and 1000 acres for field officers. Haldimand suggested that the officers at first receive only a single lot, and that they and their men alike draw for the available land.¹¹ The Loyalist officers were unwilling to accept this rather egalitarian plan and Sir John Johnson, by virtue of his position as superintendent of the new settlements, was able to change it in their favour.¹²

11 Gates, Upper Canada, 15-16.

12 PAC MG21 B64, 53. Haldimand to Johnson, 15 July 1784.

Lancaster (south half)¹



At first glance, the land in Lancaster township, because of its low, wet situation, looked "unfit for settlement" and most of the Loyalists preferred to take up their land in Charlottenburgh. However, Lt. Walter Sutherland of the KRRNY found the township sufficiently attractive that he offered to settle there, albeit on special terms. Sutherland asked to be empowered to offer would-be settlers 200 acres of land in Lancaster for every 100 acres they were technically entitled to. The government accepted this offer since a line of continuous settlement along the St. Lawrence was considered essential to maintain communication between the upper and lower regions of the province.¹³ Some fifty-three Loyalist families took advantage of Sutherland's scheme and settled in Lancaster.

A list of Loyalists, provisioned in each township in 1786, can be compared to a plan of Lancaster drawn up in 1791, to establish who the Loyalists were and where they settled.¹⁴ Only 30% of the Lancaster Loyalists were Highlanders: of the 45 names which appear on both documents, 14 families (54 people) bore Highland names. All of these families received land in the convenient first concession. In accord with the special nature of the Lancaster settlement, ten of the families acquired the full 200 acre lot, a privilege usually reserved in the first concession for officers.¹⁵ Notations on the 1791 plan describe the Loyalist lots in Lancaster as 100 acres in size, but this was contradicted by the Township plan which clearly reveals that the lots actually contain 200 acres.

13 PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 19, Wm. Chewet to D. Smith, April 26, 1797.

14 PAC RG19 vol. 4447, Parcel 2, no. 6 "Provisions for Lake Township...1786." Ontario, Dept. of Lands & Forests, Plan of Lancaster by Lieut. James McDonell, Cornwall, 2nd Feb 1791.

15 None of the Lancaster Highlanders appear to have been officers. The officers who settled in Lancaster also did well: Lt. Walter Sutherland received 3 lots in the 1st concession as did Capt. Morison.

Most of the Glengarry Loyalists, however, preferred not to settle in the wet lands of Lancaster and turned instead to Charlottenburgh. Of the 785 Loyalists provisioned in the two townships in 1786, 600 (77%) settled in Charlottenburgh.¹⁶ Here also were the larger number of Highlanders: 449 people or three-quarters of the Loyalists in Charlottenburgh had Highland surnames. In the first hurried year of settlement, 100 acres was the standard size of the grant made to Charlottenburgh Loyalists; later, additional grants made up the difference between the original 100 acres and the amount of land to which a family was entitled. Only the officers were an exception to this rule and even they did not immediately receive all their lands. However, in the first concession of Charlottenburgh six officers of the KRRNY held one-third of the lots of 2500 acres; Sir John Johnson had four lots, Capts. Alex and Angus McDonell two, Capt. Burns one, Lieut. Coffin two and Lieut. Hugh McDonell one and a half.¹⁷

With only thirty-seven lots in the first concession and some 184 families in the township, clearly only a minority could be accommodated on the front.¹⁸ After the officers received their lots, forty-six families were placed there with two families on each 200 acre lot. The bulk of the Charlottenburgh Loyalists settled on the River Raisin. Excluding the ten lots which fronted on both the St. Lawrence and the Raisin, some one hundred families received grants

16 PAC RG19 vol. 4447, Parcel 2, no. 1: List of Loyalists, Township no. 1; Parcel 2 no. 6, Lake Township.

17 Ontario. Dept. of Lands and Forests. Plan of Charlottenburgh [1784]. Mr. Delancey, a Loyalist officer administering the new settlements for the government, also acquired a lot in the 1st concession. For a list of the KRRNY officers, see J.F. Pringle, Lunenburg, or the Old Eastern District, 366-8.

18 PAC RG19 vol. 4447, Parcel 2 no. 1, Township no. 1. A total of 190 families is given, but six of these (no. 149, 163, 165, 173, 177 and 180) have no one listed under the family name.

on the north or south bank of the latter river. The remaining forty-odd families settled on the interior concessions between those fronting on the two rivers. Perhaps twenty families were placed in the 2nd concession from the front, while the others were scattered in the 2nd and 3rd concessions south of the River Raisin.¹⁹

The small number of lowland Scots, English and Irish Loyalists in Charlottenburgh did not settle separately from the Highlanders. Almost all the township's inhabitants had served together in the KRRNY or been neighbours in the Mohawk Valley during the troubled years of the Revolution; as old comrades they took up land without reference to national origin. The actual lots received by the settlers were choosen in a draw, but some trading must have taken place to accomodate friends or kinsmen who wished to settle beside one another.²⁰ In this way Angus Grant was able to settle with his son Duncan on lot 24, 1st con. S.R.R., while the brothers Alex and John McDonell shared lot 14 in the 3rd concession S.R.R.²¹ A fairly compact community, formed rather in the shape of the letter "V" lying on its side, was thus created by the Loyalists in Charlottenburgh. Along the two arms of the letter was a continuous line of settlement, while the territory in between was more sparsely filled.

19 Ontario. Dept. of Lands & Forests. Plan of Charlottenburgh [1784]. PAC RG1 L4 vol. 12, Charlottenburgh Township, Locations in the 1st concession north of the River Raisin and the 1st con. south of the River Raisin. Locations in the 2nd and 3rd concession south of the River Raisin. Also Plan of Charlottenburgh [1784]. These two sources do not exactly correspond. Since they were compiled five years apart and settlers exchanged or received additional lands during this time, the differences between them are not surprising.

20 Pringle, Lunenburgh, 34.

21 For the Grants, see Grant, Martintown, 19. For the McDonells, see PAC RG1 L4 vol. 12, Charlottenburgh, 3rd con. S.R.R., lot 14. Also interview with Mrs. Florence McDonell.

The 1773 emigrants, who had been led to New York by the Macdonell gentlemen, formed the heart of the Loyalist settlement in Charlottenburgh.²² Other Highlanders who had settled in Johnson's Bush before the Revolution, and had subsequently served either in his or the 84th Regiment, joined the 1773 emigrants in Charlottenburgh.²³ A smaller number of the 1773 and the other Highland Loyalists also settled in Cornwall township just west of Charlottenburgh, where perhaps one-third of the community was Scottish.²⁴ The Glengarry settlement could not satisfy the ambitions of all the Macdonell gentlemen, only some of whom settled there. Alexander of Aberchalder and his sons John and Hugh all received land in Charlottenburgh, while Spanish John and his Miles settled in Cornwall Township.²⁵ The other Macdonell gentlemen found positions of leadership elsewhere in the new colony: John of Leek died before 1784, but his sons Archibald and Allan took up land in townships no. 3 (Stormont Co.) and 5 (Dundas Co.) respectively;

- 22 The 1773 emigrants (not necessarily only from the Macdonell party) include John Cameron (PAC MG14 A.O.12 vol. 27/209); Wm. Chisholm (A.O.12 vol. 29/204); Peter Ferguson (A.O.12 vol. 29/206); Angus Cameron (A.O.12 vol. 29/210); Widow McGruer (A.O.12 vol. 29/122); Donald Grant (A.O.12 vol. 31/33); Donald Grant Sr. (A.O.12 vol. 31/37); Alex Chisholm (A.O.12 vol. 27/141); Duncan McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 31/147); Alex Kennedy (A.O.12 vol. 29/105); Donald McGillis (A.O.12 vol. 29/109); Donald McDonald (A.O.12 vol. 29/74); Hugh McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 29/103); Alex McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 29/101); Kenneth McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 28/370); John Macdonell, Sr. (A.O.12 vol. 28/384); Murdoch McLean, Donald McLeod, Wm. Rose and John McKay (A.O.12 vol. 29).
- 23 Most of the other Highland emigrants also came to Johnstown during the 1770s but a few had come to America during the Seven Years War; these include Duncan McIntyre (A.O.12 vol. 29/130); John McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 27/206); Roderick Macdonell (A.O.12 vol. 28/403); John McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 29/238); Roderick Macdonell (A.O.12 vol. 28/390); Alex MacDonell (A.O.12 vol. 28/388); John Fraser (A.O.12 vol. 27); Duncan Murcheson (A.O.12 vol. 29/65-6); Arch & Peter Grant (A.O.12 vol. 29/77, 96); Wm. McKay (A.O.12 vol. 29/93).
- 24 The Cornwall settlers included Alex Cameron (A.O.12 vol. 29/202); Duncan Grant (A.O.12 vol. 29/208); John Macdonell (A.O.12 vol. 29/236); Allen Grant (A.O.12 vol. 31/17); Angus McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 31/183); Alex McDonell (A.O.12 vol. 31/192); John Macdonell (A.O.12 vol. 28/401).
- 25 Alex and Hugh have both been described as receiving land in the 1st Concession, while Harkness (Stormont, 66), reports that John received land in Charlottenburgh as well. For Spanish John, see Harkness, Stormont, 80, 119.

Allan of Collachie received land in the Home District, where his son Alex rose to a position of prominence.²⁶ The 1773 emigrant group, therefore, did not form a separate community in Charlottenburgh; rather Highlanders from a number of emigrant parties mingled in the township.

(iii)

The Loyalists were barely settled on their new lands when two large groups of Highland emigrants, the first of the steady stream that was to flood Glengarry, arrived in Canada. According to tradition, the 1785 emigrants reached Canada in the spring of 1786, while the 1786 emigrants are known to have arrived in Glengarry in early October of the same year. At a time when the population of Charlottenburgh and Lancaster jointly totalled 785 souls, the influx of more than 450 emigrants must have caused a major upheaval. Prior to the arrival of the two emigrant groups, Highlanders formed roughly two-thirds of the population. After the 151 emigrants from Albany and the 345 emigrants sent on by Craigie reached the settlement, the Highland population equalled some 1011, or 79% of the community.²⁷

No one in the province of Quebec was prepared for "so great an accession of Numbers" as the two groups of Highlanders represented. The first problem was how and where the impoverished emigrants would

26 John of Leek's widow petitioned for assistance on 30 Nov 1782; PAC MG21 B214, 365. For Archibald, see Harkness, Stormont, 62; for Allan, see Ibid., 49. For Allan of Collachie, see Pringle, Lunenburgh, 386. For Alex of Collachie, see Macdonell, Sketches, 116.

27 PAC RG19 vol. 4447, Parcel 2 no. 1 (Twp. 1) and no. 6 (Lake Twp). Aug 1786. The 1785 emigrants are named in PAC, RG19 vol. 4447 Parcel 2, no. 7, "Victualling list of Emigrants lately Come from Scotland by the way of New York and Albany...." 31 Aug 1786. For the 1786 emigrants, see PAC "S" Series, Reel C-3001, 9909-15, Craigie to Delancey 4 Sept 1786.

pass the winter. The governor's secretary, John Craigie, wrote to the Inspector of Loyalists emphasizing that:

It becomes...of utmost consequence that more of these people should not proceed to the Settlements than there are means of maintaining during the Winter, and it is chiefly on this Object that the Commander in Chief wishes you to exert your advice both with these New comers and with their Friends, who may come down to La Chine to meet them, in order to prevent the distress which may ensue to all, if the matter is not thoroughly considered and means devised amongst them to avert it.²⁸

Thus some of the 1786 emigrants may not have spent the ensuing winter in Glengarry, held back in order not to risk overtaxing the resources of the infant settlement. The government came to the rescue of Loyalists and emigrants by providing both groups with rations for the next twelve months.²⁹

The arrival of emigrants from Britain caught the colonial government unprepared, since until that point only Loyalists had been granted land in the townships. With winter approaching, the government was able to delay action and the emigrants were merely given assistance to join their friends. On June 2, 1787, however, Governor Dorchester brought the question of granting land to emigrants before the Executive Council. While the Crown officers agreed that the emigrants ought to be given land, government surveyors had been kept busy preparing land for Loyalist settlers and not enough unoccupied lots were available in Glengarry. A majority of the emigrants, however, could have been accommodated and only a minority placed beyond the northern limit of Loyalist settlement. Instead Dorchester ordered that "parcels of the ungranted Lands of the Crown" be surveyed and

28 PAC "S" Series, Reel C-3001, 9909-15. Craigie to Delenacy, 4 Sept 1786.

29 *Ibid.*, Hope to McDonell, 25 Sept 1786. Also C.O.42/82, 39; in 1787, Dorchester refused further rations to either emigrants or Loyalists.

"subdivided into small farms [of] two hundred acres" for each emigrant family.³⁰ On these parcels of land, which were located to the north and entirely outwith the original Loyalist grants, the great majority of the 1785/86 emigrants settled. It was at this point that a pattern of settlement by emigrant group, evident in the settlement of the 1790, 1792, and 1793 groups, was first established.

The task of surveying land for the emigrants was given to one of the Glengarry gentlemen, James McDonell, the son of Allan McDonell of Collachie. In 1787, the Surveyor-General's department was both new to the job of laying out townships and very busy; as surveyor William Chewett commented fourteen years later, "the Office then had very little form." James McDonell was therefore left to his own devices as to the ordering of the land he was to survey and he numbered the lots he marked out in an unconventional fashion. When the Deputy Surveyor-General saw what McDonell had done, he corrected the numbers to conform to the usual practice. William Chewett was to give the emigrants new certificates for their lots with the corrected numbers, but he found that he could never "get these Highlandmen to come to my Officer." Like many other Canadian officials, Chewett was forced to work through one of the Highland leaders, Lieut. Angus McDonell, to distribute the certificates.³¹

In the late spring of 1787, James McDonell surveyed four concessions in Lancaster and three in Charlottenburgh for the 1785/86 emigrants. At least two of the Highlanders, William McQueen and Roderick McDonell, were employed to assist McDonell with his work.³² In Lancaster, the 4th concession was left empty for the Loyalists,

30 PAO RG1 C-1-2 vol. 8 Orders in Council: Extract of Minutes, June 2, 1787.

31 PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 15 Wm Chewett to D. Smith, York, Feb 26, 1801.

32 PAC Reel C-2192 UCLP M2 (1795-6) no. 268.

while in Charlottenburgh the 2nd, 3rd and 4th concessions N.R.R. were similarly treated. The emigrants were settled in the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th concessions of Lancaster, and the adjacent 7th, 8th and 9th concessions of Charlottenburgh. The great majority of the 1785/86 emigrants settled in these concessions at a distance of at least three miles from the Loyalists, and drew for their land by lot. The new community, referred to by government officials as the "Highland settlement", was compact in layout, being roughly eleven miles long and five miles wide.³³ Within this rectangle, 114 lots were occupied out of a total of 162. The settlement stretched from lot 8 on the eastern side of Lancaster, to lot 14 in Charlottenburgh, a distance of 44 lots. Fifteen lots were occupied in the 5th of Lancaster, 41 lots in the 6th of Lancaster-7th of Charlottenburgh line, 35 lots in the 7th of Lancaster-8th of Charlottenburgh line, and 23 lots in the 8th Lancaster-9th Charlottenburgh line.³⁴

A local historian, George Sandfield Macdonald, provides reliable information concerning the point of origin of 33 of the 114 emigrants who were given land in 1787.³⁵ These families were not placed in a single concession, but rather across the "Highland settlement;" 25 men were from Knoydart, five from Glengarry, one each from Morar and Glenelg, and one was unidentified. While this list may somewhat under-represent the number of emigrants from Morar, and does not include

- 33 PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 15 Wm. Chewett to D. Smith, Feb 26, 1801. Reference is made to the fact that the emigrants drew for lots in Angus McGillivray's petition, PAC Reel C-2192 UCLP M2 (1795-6) no. 271.
- 34 PAC RG19 vol. 4447 Parcel 3 no. 7 Sundry persons...located by Mr. James McDonell.... This list, prepared in 1804, was based on the township plan drawn up by James McDonell of Lancaster and Charlottenburgh, and on a 1790 list of locations in Glengarry, from which the names of the 1785/86 emigrants were extracted. The list is hereafter referred to as "Sundry Persons."
- 35 PAC MG29 C29 Sandfield lists 90 of the 1785/86 settlers, but only 33 of his names and locations are confirmed by the Sundry Persons list.

several emigrants from Kintail, its proportions seem otherwise to be roughly accurate.³⁶ Glengarry, Glenelg, Morar and Kintail emigrants were found throughout the community and not in small clusters; the Knoydart emigrants of course were so numerous that some inevitably settled beside others. While it seems therefore that the district of origin did not heavily influence settlement, it is not yet possible to determine whether neighbours or kin settled together in Glengarry.³⁷

The "Highland settlement" laid out by James McDonell accommodated most of the 1786 and a smaller number of the 1785 emigrants. It is now very difficult to distinguish between the two groups, particularly since Macdonalds, with their limited range of Christian names, formed about 70% of each party.³⁸ However, the less common surnames found in the list of 1785 emigrants, as well as a few individuals named by Sandfield as arriving in "1787", together show that some of the 1785 emigrants did settle with the larger 1786 party. Four names stand out in the list of persons located by James McDonell in Glengarry as people who, very clearly, were part of the 1785 emigration.³⁹ These are Colin Fraser of lot 29 and William McQueen of lot 18, both in the

36 Several McGillis families from Morar known to have emigrated in 1786 spent several years in Lower Canada before coming to Glengarry. The number of settlers from Morar was therefore underestimated. Sundry Persons names three McRae families and Sandfield notes that two of them were from Kintail. The Knoydart people seem to have outnumbered all the others 4 to 1.

37 Sandfield, though not always reliable, gave some indication that fathers and sons, and brothers, tended to settle, if not on the same or adjacent lots, then within a mile or so. Of course the settlement was sufficiently small that chance alone might have accomplished much of this.

38 Twenty-six of the 36 families named in the 1785 list were Macdonalds (67%): PAC RG19 vol. 4447 Parcel 2 no. 7. Eighty-one of the 114 families reported in the Highland settlement were Macdonalds (71%): PAC RG19 vol. 4447 Parcel 3 no. 7.

39 The 1785 list is found in PAC RG19 vol. 4447, Parcel 2 no. 7.

6th of Lancaster, Donald McMillan of lot 24 in the 7th of Lancaster and Duncan Kennedy of lot 7 in the 9th of Charlottenburgh. Several Macdonalds can be added to this list of 1785 emigrants who received land in the "Highland settlement." These are Squire Allan Macdonell of the 7th of Charlottenburgh, his brother-in-law, John Buie Macdonell of the 7th of Charlottenburgh, his brother-in-law, John Buie Macdonald, and Archie Roy Macdonald of lot 4 in the 9th of Charlottenburgh.⁴⁰ However, at least six people, with less common surnames, known to have emigrated in 1785, John McIntyre, Alex Fraser, John McIntosh, Henny (Henrietta) Macdonald, Eva McTavish and Annie McIntosh cannot be found among the families of the "Highland settlement." It seems probable that not all the Macdonalds who emigrated in 1785 were placed here either; perhaps fewer than half of the 1785 emigrants received land in the "Highland settlement."

The whereabouts of the other half of the 1785 emigrants can be pieced together from evidence concerning the settlement of some of them. A small group of 1785 emigrants took up land outside the "Highland settlement" in other parts of Glengarry. Thus one Angus Macdonell settled in the 9th of Lancaster, just a mile north of the 1785/86 emigrants, while Archibald Grant, Alex Roy, Kenneth and Alex Macdonell settled near Summerstown, amongst the Loyalists in the front of Charlottenburgh.⁴¹ James Duncan Macdonald's father was another of the 1785 emigrants and he settled "in the south Branch [of the River Raisin], where there are still descendants."⁴² But there is considerable evidence as well to show that some of the 1785 emigrants settled in Cornwall Township. Nine emigrants with less

40 PAC MG29 C29. The Sundry Persons list confirms that an Archibald Macdonald occupied this lot.

41 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook 4...1st page blank. Capt. Grey, 93.

42 Ibid, Notebook 3...Family II...list 1 to 26. James Duncan Macdonald, 92. Mch. '84.

common surnames can be identified among those who received land in the 8th concession of Cornwall, and another ten Macdonalds, some of whom may have emigrated in 1785, are found in the same concession.⁴³ At least three of the 1785 emigrants did not receive land here, John McIntyre, Duncan Kennedy and Donald McMillan, but the latter two did receive lots in the "Highland settlement." On the other hand, William McQueen, Colin Fraser, Finlay (Philip) Macdonald and possibly some others, received land both in Charlottenburgh/Lancaster and in Cornwall.

What is striking about these locations in the 8th of Cornwall is the fact that they are all for 100 acres, the same size as the first grants to the Loyalists. According to tradition, the 1785 emigrants reached Canada in the spring of the following year. It seems plausible to hypothesize that these emigrants, coming by way of New York and Albany and given the usual Loyalist grant of 100 acres immediately north of the Loyalist concessions in Cornwall, were merely treated as a sort of "late" Loyalist.⁴⁴ Confirmation of this hypothesis is provided in the land petitions of John and Ranald Macdonell, both of whom claimed to be "Emigrant Loyalists", resident in Cornwall since their emigration from Scotland in 1785.⁴⁵ An emigrant Loyalist is an imaginary creature since even the 1773 emigrants, who were settled in America for only a year or two before taking up arms for the King, were not referred to as "Emigrant Loyalists."

43 See locations in the 8th of Cornwall in PAC RG1 L4 vol. 13, 143-4.

44 A considerable number of late Loyalists entered Upper Canada from the American States after 1784. Some of these were in fact political refugees, while others merely followed the opening of a new frontier into Canada. The 1785 emigrants, by virtue of their entry into Canada via the U.S., must have seemed to fit into this category and hence could be treated in a manner similar to their Loyalist relations.

45 PAC Reel C-2194 UCLP M5 (1800-01) no. 100, Ranald McDonell; Reel C-2193 UCLP M4 (1797-8) no. 118, John Macdonell.

The 1785 emigrants seem, therefore, to have been considered a sort of Loyalist and were given land in July 1786, three months before the arrival of the 1786 emigrants in Glengarry.⁴⁶ There was of course no manner in which the 1786 emigrants could be portrayed as Loyalists: they arrived in Quebec after a nine week voyage from Scotland, without ever entering the territory of the new United States. That direct emigration, along with their substantial numbers, forced Lord Dorchester to provide separately for them and resulted in the survey of the "Highland settlement."

While perhaps fewer than 30 of the 1785 emigrants obtained land in the "Highland settlement," nearly all of the 1786 party settled in that district. There were no more than 100 families in the 1786 group and the 1786 emigrants must have occupied some 85 of the 114 lots surveyed by James McDonell. Even their leader, Lieut. Angus McDonell, Sandaig, settled with the group in the 8th concession of Charlottenburgh. However, at least one of the 1786 emigrants, Angus Ban Macdonell of Muniell, settled in the 3rd concession S.R.R., five miles south of the main body of emigrants in Charlottenburgh.⁴⁷ Angus Ban may have been one of the many Angus Macdonalds who received land in the "Highland settlement"; if so the reasons for his subsequent separation from it would be of interest. A certain amount of trading lots took place as some emigrants moved into Cornwall Township,⁴⁸ while others merely travelled a few miles within Charlottenburgh and Lancaster. A desire for better land and a wish to be closer to family or friends prompted such moves.

46 Other U.E. grants in that concession were made in July 1786. PAC Reel C-2196 UCLP M9 (1808-10) no. 92.

47 PAC Reel C-2196 UCLP M9 (1808-10) no. 79. Angus Ban purchased the west half of lot 12 from its Loyalist occupant, Duncan Macdonell, sometime before the latter's death in 1791.

48 PAC Reel C-2196 UCLP M9 (1808-10); Ranald McGillis was given lot 36 in the 5th of Lancaster but he exchanged it for the west $\frac{1}{2}$ of lot 37 in the 4th of Cornwall.

The 1785/86 emigrants were located in the Glengarry area as the result both of their own wishes and of government direction. When faced with an influx of Gaelic-speaking Scots, government officials found it convenient to place them near their compatriots who had arrived earlier. The arrival of the large 1786 emigration forced the colonial government to make a separate provision for the growing number of Highland migrants. The 1785 emigrants had been treated like Loyalists and at first placed on 100 acre lots in Cornwall Township, but the more numerous 1786 emigration led the government to settle the new group in a separate location and to approve a policy of 200 acre grants for British emigrants.

(iv)

In balancing the claims of Loyalists and later emigrants, Lord Dorchester must have considered the Loyalists entitled to at least as much land as was offered to the newcomers. Although discontent was not yet noticeable in Glengarry County, some complaints had arisen by the autumn of 1786 in the new settlements along the St. Lawrence with regard to the relationship between the former officers and their men.⁴⁹ At the same time, private soldiers from all Loyalist units had urgently requested a minimum grant of 200 acres which the men of the 84th Regiment had actually been promised.⁵⁰ Thus, on 2nd June 1787, the same day that Dorchester ordered the survey of the "Highland settlement," he also granted the Loyalists the additional 200 acres which later became known as Lord Dorchester's bounty. Some

49 PAC "S" Series. Reel C-3002, 10859, 10717-42.

50 PAC "S" Series Reel C-3001, 10073-4. Copy of Stephen Delancey's letter of 24 Dec 1786, Lachine.

two years following this order, Dorchester extended the grant of 200 acres to the children of Loyalists, to their sons on coming of age and to their daughters at marriage.⁵¹

Loyalists received their additional lands in the same township as their first lot was located, but not usually in one consolidated holding.⁵² It was expected that the Loyalists would rent, sell or provide for their children with these additional parcels of land. Thus in 1784 Alex Macdonell of the 84th Regiment received 100 acres in the west half of lot 55, 1st concession N.R.R. in Charlottenburgh, but his additional lands included 150 acres six miles northwest in the 9th concession and 200 acres a further ten miles northeast in the 14th concession. Similarly Donald Ban Macdonell, a corporal in the KRRNY, first obtained 100 acres in lot 19, 2nd concession S.R.R. in Charlottenburgh; he was later given a second 100 acres three miles north in the 7th concession, 200 acres five miles northwest in the 10th concession, and another 200 acres four miles further north in the 13th concession.⁵³ On the other hand the Lancaster Loyalists, who were considerably fewer in number, managed to obtain much of their additional lands in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th concessions. For example, Alex Grant acquired half of lot 27 in both the 1st and 2nd concessions and all of lot 27 in the 4th. Grant also received all of lot 33 in the 3rd concession and half of the same lot in the 4th. However, the

51 Craig, Upper Canada, 12. A deadline for application for bounty lands was suggested in July 1790 and finally set on 1 Aug 1797; see Gates, Land Policies, 17; also 21.

52 The officers were the notable exception to this rule. For instance, Spanish John Macdonell, as a captain in the KRRNY, received lots 33-37 in the 10th and 11th Concessions of Lancaster, a single block of 2000 acres.

53 For Alex, see PAC Reel C-2200 UCLP M11 (1811-19) no. 345; for Donald, see PAC Reel C-2201 UCLP M12 (1815-20) no. 528.

Lancaster Loyalists, like those in Charlottenburgh, also received land in the northern part of the township, particularly in the 9th concession.⁵⁴

The effect of making these additional grants to the Loyalists was roughly to double the number of assigned lots in Glengarry County, without a proportionate increase in population. A list of assigned lots prepared in 1789 shows the extent of settlement in Glengarry after the Loyalists had received most of their lands and the 1785/86 emigrants had been settled. Of 643 lots in the 1st to 17th concessions of Charlottenburgh, 77% (499 lots) were assigned and 144 lots were left unallocated. Less land had been assigned in Lancaster where the 12th to 18th concessions remained completely empty. In the 1st to the 11th concessions of Lancaster, 68% (252 lots) were granted and 118 remained in Crown possession.⁵⁵

The granting of so many acres of land in less than five years put a tremendous burden on provincial land surveyors. In Lancaster Township, an error made by James McDonell led to problems for the inhabitants of the 3rd concession, and incidently revealed that some tension existed between the Lancaster Loyalists and the Highland emigrants. The occasion of the controversy was James McDonell's failure to follow instructions to begin his survey from the point at which Patrick McNiff left off; instead McDonell began somewhere within the

54 Ontario. Dept. of Lands & Forests. Plan of Lancaster by Lt. James McDonell. 1791.

55 PAC RG1 L4 vol. 12, List of locations. Also MacGillivray & Ross, Glengarry, 676-9 for the total number of lots in the townships. I have omitted lot 38 in all concessions from my calculations since it is not marked on the early plans. Locations in the 9th to 11th of Lancaster are taken from James McDonell's Plan of Lancaster.

56 For a discussion of the problem see the lengthy documentation in PAC Reel C-2125, UCLP L5 (1797-1802) no. 21, and Reel C-2138 UCLP L Misc. (1788-95) no. 30½.

new "Highland settlement," and worked southwards. Unfortunately McDonell's line between the 2nd and 3rd concessions of Lancaster ran about $\frac{3}{8}$ of a mile north of McNiff's. The problem ought to have been solved that same year at a meeting held 6th November 1787 to give the Loyalists their family and bounty lands. When Deputy Surveyor-General, John Collins, was informed of the conflicting lines, he condemned McDonell's and ordered the settlers to pull down the pickets marking his line.⁵⁷ However, Collin's decision was not recorded on the township plan, which illustrated McDonell's line instead, and the dispute dragged on for another 15 years.

While the Loyalists had this one quite justifiable complaint against McDonell's survey, the ensuing flurry of petitions revealed that they had more general objections to the actual location of the Highland emigrants. In June 1792, some 25 Lancaster Loyalists petitioned the Lieut-Governor to have McNiff's line between the 2nd and 3rd concessions finished. They also asked that the 4th concession line be run,

...which will make the Division line between us and the late Emigrants on that side and at the Same time to Run our family Lands in the 9th Concession; at which time it will appear whether or not the Emigrants have been placed in our land or not.⁵⁸

The Lancaster Loyalists, it seems apparent, were quite jealous of their right to land as Loyalists and resented the placement of the Highlanders in lands which would otherwise have been granted to them as bounty land. On the other hand, surveyor William Chewett, who had been present at the November 1787 meeting, believed that the clamour for Loyalist rights covered a more fundamental objection to the

57 PAC Reel C-2125 UCLP L5 (1797-1802) no. 21a.

58 PAC Reel C-2138 UCLP L Misc. (1788-95) no. 30 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

emigrants. At that meeting Chewett reported,

...a murmur arose, relative to the Highland Emigrants, at that time, lately from Scotland, being placed too near men who had served during the War - but the great objection was that the Emigrants were Roman Catholics & they Presbyterians.⁵⁹

No similar situation seems to have developed in Charlottenburgh and it seems unlikely that as great a degree of tension existed between Loyalists and emigrants there as it did, for a short time at least, further east in Lancaster. The Charlottenburgh Loyalists were themselves predominantly Highland, including both Presbyterians and a substantial minority of Roman Catholics; the potential for cultural or religious suspicion was thus much smaller in Charlottenburgh than it was in Lancaster.

By the end of the 1780s, the new settlements along the St. Lawrence began to take on a cultivated appearance. The population of what was soon to become the colony of Upper Canada approached 10,000 people,⁶⁰ of whom roughly 13% (1285) had settled in Charlottenburgh and Lancaster townships. Perhaps 1000 of these, or 10% of the colony's entire population, were Highlanders.⁶¹ Virgin forest in the early spring of 1784, the land eleven miles inland was now sprinkled with tiny clearings and small log buildings. More than 95% of the future county was of course still covered with trees, although only one concession in Charlottenburgh and seven in Lancaster remained completely unallocated. Even the concessions which had been allocated, however, were not necessarily occupied. The additional lots received by the

59 PAC Reel C-2125 UCLP L5 (1797-1802) no. 21c. Few, if any, of the Lancaster Loyalists had relations among the 1785/86 emigrants. In contrast quite a number of the Charlottenburgh Loyalists were joined by relatives in 1786.

60 Gates, Land Policies, 22.

61 Five hundred and fifteen of the Loyalists were Highlanders and close to 500 Highlanders entered Glengarry in the 1785/86 groups.

Loyalists awaited settlement by a second generation or sale to the emigrants of later years. An impressive beginning had been made on the settlement of Glengarry County, but land, while rapidly being claimed, was still easily available.

(v)

As the first hectic years of opening settlement in a new region ended, the need for local administrative structures became apparent. New settlers, particularly in the western reaches of Lake Ontario, faced a long wait before obtaining land since their application had first to be approved by the Executive Council in Quebec. In July 1788, Dorchester divided the Loyalist settlements into four districts: from west to east they were Hesse, Nassau, Mecklenburg and Lunenburg. The last-named included Glengarry as well as land to the west almost to Kingston and north to the Ottawa river. Several months later, land boards were appointed in each of the four districts with the power to grant each new settler a single 200 acre lot. The Land Boards survived until November 1794 and hence were the agency through which the 1790, 1792, and 1793 emigrants received land in Glengarry.⁶²

When the Loyalists moved into Quebec and settled in its western regions after the loss of the southern part of the British Empire in America, they posed a serious problem for the imperial government. Since 1763, British policy in Quebec had been directed towards gaining the support of the native French population. Although English criminal law had been introduced to the province, French civil law had

62 Craig, Upper Canada, 12. Gates, Land Policies, 19, 29. The Land Boards could also recommend to the Executive Council individuals to whom more extensive grants should be made.

been maintained and so had the seigneurial system of land holding.⁶³ The grants made to the Loyalists and other early settlers along the upper St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario were made under seigneurial tenure, with the Crown, as seigneur, entitled to an annual quit-rent after the first ten years. The Quebec Loyalists unanimously demanded that their land be granted in free and common soccage, as was the case in the larger Loyalist settlements of the Maritimes. In order to satisfy this demand, and also to recognize the distinct societies represented by the new settlements and the French seigneuries, the imperial government in 1791 divided the province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada. In May of that year, the Imperial Parliament approved the Constitutional Act which detailed the organization of the new colonial government.⁶⁴

One of the most contentious provisions of the Constitutional Act related to establishment of "Clergy Reserves." A portion of Crown land was to be reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy: land thus reserved was to equal one seventh, both of land already granted and of land to be granted in the future. A separate instruction, issued in September 1791, ordered that an equal amount of land be set aside as a Crown reserve.⁶⁵ The latter reserve was intended to provide the colony with a source of revenue apart from imperial grants or local taxes. The amount of land set aside by this system of reserves was a considerable restriction on the quantity

63 Land obtained from the seigneur was subject to an annual rent (cens et ventes), but the tenant or censitaire had security of tenure and disposition of the farm.

64 Craig, Upper Canada, 9-18.

65 Exactly who were the clergy referred to in the Act was the subject of political controversy in Canada for more than a generation. A narrow interpretation limited support to the Church of England; more broadly it might include the Presbyterian church as the established church of Scotland. Also Gates, Land Policies, 29.

of "free" land available to emigrants and in most parts of the province tended to make consolidated settlement difficult.

It is not clear precisely when these reserves were laid out in Glengarry County. As early as February 1791, the question of where to locate reserves of land for public purposes was brought before the Land Committee of Quebec's Executive Council. Deputy Surveyor-General Collins pointed out the difficulty of reserving land in Charlottenburgh Township where so many lots were already allocated under government certificates. These certificates had been issued in response to the demand for "land in the said Townships to satisfy the numerous settlers who then applied for Farms in that quarter."⁶⁶ The Land Committee decided to locate the reserves in the back concessions of the two townships, where land, even if granted, was not yet cultivated. Nonetheless, the surveyors evidently experienced difficulty in locating the requisite number of reserves in Glengarry: while almost all the necessary Crown and Clergy reserves were set aside in Lancaster (172 out of 179), less than half the required number were found in Charlottenburgh (76½ out of 196).⁶⁷ Even this reserve of 248½ lots, however, represented a substantial amount of land which subsequently was unavailable to new settlers as a free grant.

The 1790 emigrants, from the Island of Eigg and adjacent districts, received land from the Crown just before the policy of reserves was decided on. These emigrants reached Glengarry some time in early November 1790 and within a month, on 7th December, the Stormont and

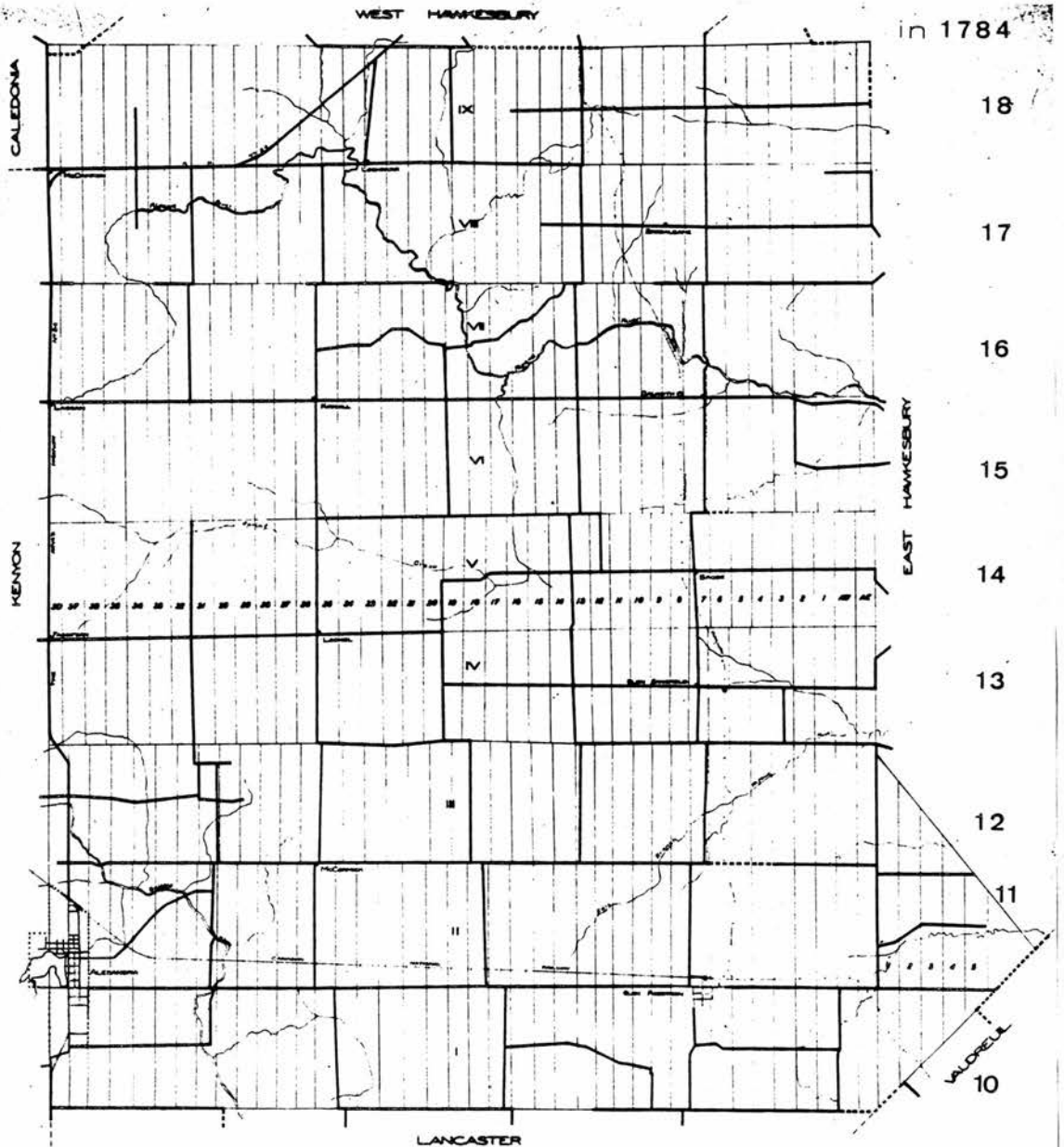
66 PAC RG1 L4 vol. 10, 22 Feb 1791, Land Board meeting.

67 MacGillivray & Ross, Glengarry, 676-9. In Lancaster, there were the correct number of clergy reserves, 89 out of 89½. In Charlottenburgh no Crown reserves were made and there were 76½ rather than 96½ Clergy reserves.

Lancaster (north half)¹

Concession no.

in 1784



Since 1818
TOWNSHIP OF
LOCHIEL
GLEN GARRY COUNTY

Glengarry Land Board had granted land to some sixteen families.⁶⁸

In April 1791, the Eigg families, along with "many others," drew for lots at a meeting in Lancaster and received their new lot numbers from Land Board member John Macdonell of Aberchalder.⁶⁹ Five of the remaining seven emigrants named on Dorchester's list were unlikely to receive a lot: three of them were servants⁷⁰ and two were women unaccompanied by an adult male. One emigrant received land at a subsequent meeting of the Land Board, while the last emigrant cannot be located.

The main body of the 1790 emigrants, 71 out of 90, settled in the 12th concession of Lancaster, later known as the 3rd of Lochiel. James McDonell's plan of the township shows the random distribution of the first sixteen lots to be occupied, as well as the relative isolation of the inhabitants of the 12th concession.⁷¹ During the early 1790s only a little more than a third of the lots in the 10th and 11th

68 The Report to Dorchester on the Eigg emigrants commented that they applied for transportation to New Johnstown on Oct. 20 and that this petition was granted; see PAC "S" Series, Reel C-3006, 15916-8. For the list of emigrants see PAC Reel B-48 C042/71, 82. For Land Board applicants, see PAC RG1 L4 vol. 10, 107a.

69 This is borne out in the land petitions of two of the 1790 emigrants, Angus and John Gillis, PAC Reel C-2140 UCLP Mc22 (1839-40) no. 74 and Reel C-2141 UCLP Mc22 (1840) no. 142. Aberchalder was known as Colonel John because of his militia rank.

70 One of the two male servants did get land two years later on March 25, 1793: Duncan McCraw obtained lot 22 in the 16th of Lancaster, PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 49, 327. Lauchlan Campbell received land on 25th March 1793, while no trace of a grant to Donald Fraser, Blacksmith, has been found.

71 This estimate is based on a comparison of Dorchester's list of 1790 emigrants (PAC Reel B-48, C042/71, 82) and James McDonell's Plan of Lancaster (Ontario, Dept. of Lands & Forests). The lots occupied in 1790 were 2, 4, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 30, 32 and 35. The names given for 13 of the occupants of these lots correspond with Dorchester's list. The two Donald McCormicks on Dorchester's list have been identified with Donald McCormick of lot 17 and Roderick McCormick of lot 24. McCormick is an extremely uncommon name in Glengarry and it seems likely that the list is inaccurate on this point. Similarly, I have identified Dorchester's John McAulay as James McDonell's James McAulay of lot 15. Ewen McMillan in Dorchester's list is likely the Hugh McMillan who received lot 30.

concessions were granted and most of these were unoccupied, additional Loyalist grants. Another eleven lots in the 12th concession were allocated during this period and perhaps three of these were given to members of the 1790 emigrant party.⁷² The others were settled by Loyalists and emigrants from Scotland, presumably members of other groups; there is little evidence to show kinship or community ties between the 16 Eigg settlers and the other eight occupants of the concession. Only two men from the 1790 group settled outside the 12th concession: one was Lauchlin Campbell who received lot 25 in the 8th of Lancaster in 1793, and the other was Duncan McCraw, who settled on lot 22 of the 16th of Lancaster in the same year.⁷³

The Eigg emigrants, like their predecessors in the southern part of the county were not necessarily satisfied with the lot they had drawn by chance. Dougal McMillan found lot 21 in the 12th concession "unfit for cultivation;" on Colonel John Macdonell's advice, he settled instead on lot 29.⁷⁴ Angus and John Gillis both abandoned their lots in the eastern extremity of the same concession to settle in the 10th of Lancaster and northern Charlottenburgh respectively. John gave no reason for his move but Angus explained that he "would have lived on the [first] Lot himself but that it was so remote from neighbours when he located it that he was induced to purchase that on which he now resides." Nonetheless, a settlement began to take shape in the 12th concession and empty lots were frequently filled by members of the 1790 group or their kinsmen. Aulay McAulay received lot

72 Donald McKinnon of lot 36 was a son of Lauchlan McKinnon (Interview with L.R. McLean, Victoria, B.C.) and Malcolm McKinnon of lot 3 may have been also. Angus Gillis, emigrated in 1790 according to his land petition; received lot 10 in April 1791 but is not named by Dorchester. (PAC Reel C-2141 UCLP Mc22 (1840) no. 142.

73 PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 49, 327.

74 PAC Reel C-2198 UCLP M10 (1811-16) no. 307.

25 in the 12th of Lancaster in August 1792, while Alex Macdonell, a native of Eigg, was granted lot 29 in the adjacent 11th concession in 1796.⁷⁵ A compact community emerged out of the 1790 emigration, strung out along what is still called the "Eigg" road in the 12th of Lancaster.

The speed with which the 1790 emigrants were granted land was imitated two years later in the case of the 30 families from Glengarry and vicinity, led by Greenfield Macdonell and Lieut. Alex. McMillan. A few of the emigrants may have taken up land in the southern part of the county, as did their leader Greenfield Macdonell who settled in the 9th of Charlottenburgh, but the great majority appear to have settled in northern Lancaster.⁷⁶ On 6th November 1792, Richard Duncan, then chairman of the Eastern District Land Board, ordered surveyor Hugh McDonell:

...to set out as soon as possible for the purpose of exploring and ascertaining a situation suitable for the accomodation of a number of Highland Emigrants to the number of Twenty seven Families or upwards who are at present exposed to great expence and inconveniency and therefore anxious to Set themselves down on Land belonging to the Crown.⁷⁷

The 1792 party had arrived in Quebec in late September; from Duncan's comment it is evident that they had reached Glengarry in October and most were eager to settle on Crown land. After surveying northern Lancaster, Hugh McDonell reported that he had laid out twenty lots

75 PAC Reel C-2141 UCLP Mc22 (1840) no. 142, Angus McGillis; Reel C-2140 UCLP Mc22 (1839-40) no. 74, John McGillis. Aulay is likely a kinsmen of Donald McAulay: PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 49, 327. For Macdonell, see Return of Locations in E.D. 24 July 1796 to 31 Jan 1797, in PAO RG1 A-1-1 Box 5.

76 PAC MG29 C29 Sandfield lists Greenfield as one of the 9th of Charlott. settlers. The McLennans of lot 25 in the 3rd of Lancaster and the McIntoshes of lot 4 in the 3rd of Charlott. may have also been 1792 emigrants (PAC Reel C-2197 UCLP M9 (1804-11) no. 189, 190).

77 PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 49, 88. Richard Duncan, 6 Nov 1792.

in the 13th and 14th concessions, although the last three lots were in "impervious cedar swamp", and he continued in the 15th and 16th concessions with another seventeen lots. With the survey complete, most of the 1792 emigrants received their land at the 25th March 1793 meeting of the Land Board.⁷⁸

There is only indirect evidence that people who received land in the 13th to 16th concessions of Lancaster in March 1793 were members of the Macdonell-McMillan party. However, the Land Board's apparent policy of settling emigrants within a few months of their arrival (as was evident both in 1790-1 and in 1792-3), as well as Duncan's order for the survey of the 13th to 16th concessions so as to provide land for the recently arrived emigrants, creates a very strong presumption that many of those settled in these concessions in 1793 were indeed members of the 1792 emigrant group. Two lists survive describing those who received land in March 1793. The first names the applicants and classifies them as Loyalists, kinsmen of Loyalists, and emigrants from Scotland or from elsewhere.⁷⁹ The second is a return of settlers and their land locations in Lancaster in 1793.⁸⁰ A comparison of the two lists makes possible an identification of most of the 1793 settlers of the 13th to 16th of Lancaster as the 1792 emigrants. With the exception of four settlers of unknown origin, one Loyalist, and one 1790 emigrant, 21 emigrants from Scotland settled in the 13th to 16th concessions of Lancaster in 1793.⁸¹

78 PAO RG1 A-1-1, vol. 48, 88, Hugh McDonell. Also Ibid., 327, Return of Sundry persons.

79 PAC Reel C-14028, RG1 L4 vol. 15, List of applicants...18 & 26 March, 1st & 16 April 1793. Emigrant from Scotland, of course, does not necessarily mean a 1792 emigrant.

80 PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 49, 327. Return of Sundry persons.

81 The Loyalist was Allan Cameron, identified on the list of Applicants for land as a Loyalist, who settled lot 26 in the 14th; Duncan McCraw was named in Dorchester list of 1790 emigrants and he settled lot 22 in the 16th.

This tally can be increased by another four Scottish emigrants, who also settled there in the same year, but whose lot locations were given in a later Land Board report.⁸² Thus no fewer than 25 Highland emigrants settled in these four concessions of Lancaster, almost certainly all members of the Macdonell-McMillan party.

Most of the 1792 emigrants, 21 families, were allocated land in the double-fronted 13th and 14th concessions.⁸³ Unlike the 12th of Lancaster, where a road grew up through the interior of the concession, surveyor Hugh McDonell opened a road on the boundary line between the 13th and 14th concessions and laid out lots north and south of that line. Settlement was then expected to be concentrated along the road dividing the two concessions, lessening the isolation of the settler. None of the 1793 lot locations was east of lot 22, so 21 out of 32 lots were occupied on both sides of the concessions for a four mile distance. Two emigrants who obtained lots 22 and 23 in the 15th concession, and another two who received lots 22 and 25 in the 16th concession were also no more than four miles away from their eight fellow emigrants who settled on lots 22 to 25 in the 13th and 14th concessions. Certain patterns are evident in the distribution of emigrant families which suggest that the settling of lots in 1793 was influenced by the emigrants themselves. In the 14th concession, lots 22 to 25 were all occupied by a McMillan, while lots 30 and 31 settled by four McGillis families formed a square across the 13th and 14th concessions. Like earlier groups of emigrants to reach Glengarry, then, the 1792 emigrants were given land during their first

82 PAO RG1 C-1-4 vol. 9. Locations in the Eastern District, 1793.

83 Unless otherwise stated, the following paragraph is based on the list of emigrants: PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 49, 327; and PAO RG1 C-1-4 vol. 9, Return...Glengarry, Oct 10, 1794. They occupied lots 22-26, 29-31, 33 and 37 in the 13th and lots 22-25, 29-34 and 37 in the 14th.

winter in Canada and a majority of them seem to have settled as a group in adjacent sections of previously unoccupied concessions.⁸⁴

Some 140 emigrants, principally from Glenelg, were the next group to reach Glengarry County; led by Kenneth McLeod and his son Alexander, they arrived in mid-June 1794 after shipping mishaps forced a winter stop-over in Prince Edward Island. Because the McLeod emigrants reached Canada in the spring rather than in the autumn, they received land within a few weeks of their arrival in Glengarry. There is some indication in the surveyor's correspondence that certain formalities were waived to place the emigrants on their lots before the summer work season ended. Hugh McDonell wrote to the Surveyor-General in October 1794 explaining that he had himself given location tickets to "some of the late Emigrants...to enable them to settle and improve lots, to obviate a tedious and greivous delay." McDonell's efforts to organize a Land Board meeting had met excuses of sickness, absence, distance or private business, but he expected his lot locations to be ratified by the Board at their next meeting.⁸⁵ Thirty-five Highlanders received 200 acre lots in Lancaster on 25th June 1794, which were confirmed by the Land Board three and a half months later.⁸⁶

The 35 lots recorded on 25th June and another five lots which the surveyor failed to register, ran the length of the 15th and 16th

84 Since the 1792 group, with the exception of Greenfield McDonell, has been identified only in terms of those who settled in northern Lancaster, it is quite probable that some 1792 emigrants have escaped scrutiny. A few Macdonells from Glengarry may have chosen to settle with kinsmen in the southern part of the county.

85 PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 5, Hugh McDonell to D. Smith, 10 Oct 1794.

86 PAO RG1 C-1-4 vol. 9, Return. Glengarry, 10 Oct 1794.

concessions, with three exceptions.⁸⁷ The lots given to John McCuaig, Neil McKinnon and Donald McDougald were in the 8th, 13th and 14th concessions respectively, and there is no indication that these men were members of the McLeod party. However, all or most of the remaining 37 lots were likely granted to the McLeod emigrants, a conclusion which is supported by oral tradition of the area.⁸⁸ One of the leaders of the emigrant group, Alexander McLeod, settled on lot 18 in the 15th concession. Twenty-two of the emigrants received land in that concession between lots 6 and 37, while the other fifteen were placed in the 16th concession on lot 9 and between lots 15 to 35. The western two-thirds of the 15th and 16th concessions were thus substantially filled by the 1793 emigrants, most of whom settled in this one district.

Settlement in Glengarry County was so rapid -- with the allocation of land to the 1793 emigrants, it reached to the 16th concession of Lancaster and in 1789 it had passed the same mark in Charlottenburgh -- that government surveyors had difficulty in establishing the Crown and Clergy reserves. The Surveyor-General had discussed the placement of reserves in February 1791, but the reserves were seemingly not set aside until after the McLeod emigrants received their lots in

87 Ibid. The five unregistered lots caused problems for their occupants which were brought before the Executive Council in land petitions. See PAC Reel C-1647 UCLP C2 (1796-7) no. 2 Petition of Don. Campbell, Alex. McLennan, Don. McDonell, & Arch McGilvray; also PAC Reel C-2189 M. Misc. (1792-1816) no. 21 Kenneth McLennan. The Township Papers in the PAO confirm that these men had difficulty getting patents for their reported lots.

88 The 1793-4 emigrants are popularly held to have settled in the 15th and 16th concessions. The MacLeods of Glengarry locates many of them in these concessions. There is no specific tradition linking the 4 Ferguson and 2 Grant families with the McLeod emigrants, but until evidence to the contrary is found, it is possible to suggest that they were some of the Glenmoriston residents recruited by McLeod.

June 1794.⁸⁹ Since large parts of Lancaster were by then allocated, more than half of the 17th and 18th concessions was reserved, as were scattered lots in the recently settled 10th to 16th concessions. Unfortunately, somewhere between the Land Board and the Surveyor-General's office, at least six of the 1793 and 1794 locations were lost and hence were not marked on the Surveyor-General's plan of Lancaster. The six lots under location to the emigrants were thus included in the Crown and Clergy reserves. Most of the double allocations occurred in the 15th concession where Arch McGilvray's lot 27 and Donald McDonnell's lot 35 were made Crown reserves, while Alex McLennan's lot 14, Kenneth McLennan's lot 29 and probably Donald Campbell's lot 37 were made Clergy reserves. The only 1792 emigrant affected was Lieut. Alex. McMillan: two of his lots were reserved in the 13th and two adjacent ones in the 14th concession of Lancaster.⁹⁰

In order to clear their title to the land, the occupants of the disputed lots found it necessary to petition the Executive Council of Upper Canada for redress. The memorial submitted by Kenneth McLennan was representative of the others; he explained the mistake that had been made in omitting his name from the Surveyor's plan in 1794 and noted the subsequent setting aside of his lot as a clergy reserve. McLennan asked for the "right of Soil in the Said Lot," a request which suggests the survival in Canada of the Highland belief

89 The precise date on which the reserves were set aside in Glen-garry is not known, but it was after June 1794 and before May 1797. See PAC Reel C-2189 UCLP M. Misc (1792-1816) no. 21, Kenneth McLennan.

90 For Campbell, McDonnell and McGilvray, see PAC Reel C-1647 C2 (1796-7) no. 2; for the latter two see also PAC Reel C-4504 UCS, 2572-5, Report from Chewett & Ridout, 8 July 1809. For Kenneth McLennan see PAC Reel C-2189 UCLP M. Misc (1792-1816) no. 21. For Alex McLennan see PAC Reel C-2199 UCLP M11 (1808-17) no. 80 and Reel C-1647 C2 (1796-97) no. 2. For Lieut. McMillan, see PAC Reel C-2193 UCLP M4 (1793-99) no. 200.

that men who cultivate land have a right to possess that land.⁹¹ The Executive Council was prepared to support their claim and ordered the Crown reserve to be removed in favour of the occupants, McDonell, McGilvray and McMillan. The process was more difficult in the case of the clergy reserves: Alex McLennan and Lieut. McMillan traded their reserved lots for other lands, while Campbell seems to have preferred to rent his original holding.⁹² Administrative errors such as these created difficulties for ordinary emigrants which took years to solve. McDonell and McGilvray petitioned twice, first in 1796 and then in 1809, as did Alex McLennan in 1796 and 1817. On the other hand, a gentleman emigrant was more likely to know the correct procedures and to have the official contacts to resolve such a mishap quickly: in consequence, Lieut. McMillan's petition was granted at once in 1797.

By this time the establishment of Crown and Clergy reserves and the steady granting of lots had exhausted most of the Crown land available in Glengarry. While a number of individual lots could still be obtained from the Crown, no large block of ungranted land remained for later emigrants; the latter would be forced to rent or purchase land from earlier emigrants if they wished to settle in Glengarry. In 1789 allocated land had extended from the 1st to the 17th concession of Charlottenburgh and the 1st to the 11th of Lancaster. The following eight years witnessed steady infilling as the 262 empty lots in this area were taken up by the children of the

91 PAC Reel C-2189 UCLP M. Misc. (1792-1816) no. 21, 17 May 1797.

92 See petitions cited above. The Township Papers in the PAO (Lochiel Township, 6th concession) report a John Campbell leasing lot 37 in the 15th of Lancaster before 1809.

first settlers and a few of the later emigrants.⁹³ The first half of the 1790s saw continuous emigration into Glengarry which resulted in the settling of much of the 12th to 16th concessions of Lancaster. Between 1793 and 1797, grants were also made in the 17th and 18th concessions; lots left vacant during the first flood of emigrants were often settled a few years later.⁹⁴ Shortly after the 1792 and 1793 emigrants received their land, another three lots in both the 13th and 14th concessions, four in the 15th, and five in the 16th were allocated. With so much of Lancaster already granted by 1794, it is not surprising that the Crown should have had difficulty in finding vacant lots to reserve.

The total amount of land assigned or reserved in Glengarry County by 1794 was very substantial. In 1789, 42% of the lots in the county (558) had been vacant. Two hundred forty-eight and one-half of these lots were made Crown or Clergy reserves in the mid-1790s, and were subsequently unavailable to settlers desiring a free Crown grant. During the same time, a further 112 locations were made to recent emigrants and to earlier settlers in the newly surveyed 12th to 18th concessions of Lancaster. In southern Lancaster, 39 new grants were made within the 5th and 8th concessions between 1789 and 1792.⁹⁵ Similarly, a further 18 locations were made in the 8th concession of

93 For instance, lots were granted in the 4th (lot 19 to Peter Grant), in the 7th (lot 9 to Finlay McDonell), and in the 11th ($\frac{1}{2}$ lot 18 to Christian Dillibough), all in Lancaster. Similarly Duncan McIntyre received lot 2 in the 10th and Finlay Ross lot 37 in the 13th of Charlottenburgh. PAO RG1 A-1-1 vol. 49, 327, Returns, 10 April 1793, also A-1-7 Box 5, Return, Eastern District, 31 January 1797.

94 John McGillis of lot 37 in the 18th and Angus McGillis of lot 36 in the 17th of Lancaster received their locations in March 1793 (PAO RG1 C-1-4 vol. 9, Return, Glengarry, 10 Oct 1794). Between August 1796 and Jan 1797, seven lots were located in the 17th and four in the 18th of Lancaster (PAO RG1 A-1-7 Box 5, Returns, Eastern District, 31 January 1797).

95 Compare 1789 list (PAC RG1 L4 vol. 12, Lancaster) with Ontario, Dept. of Lands & Forests Plan, Lancaster by Lieut. James McDonell.

Charlottenburgh, and others were made further north in the same township.⁹⁶ Thus over an eight year period, when fewer than 100 families emigrated to Glengarry, the number of unallocated lots dropped from 558 to 138½.

No more than 138½ lots, and probably fewer since not all grants have been traced, were still vacant and available as Crown grants to settlers in Glengarry in 1797. If only 11% of the 200 acre lots in the county remained to be granted after thirteen years of settlement, this did not actually represent the true extent of vacant land there. For those willing to forego a free Crown lot, land could be acquired in a number of ways. As late as 1812, Col. (formerly Lieut.) Alex McMillan commented that the population of the county was "much scattered," because the Loyalists held "several Concessions in different Townships without being inhabited."⁹⁷ Officers, gentlemen emigrants, and even private Loyalists had all received more land than they themselves could cultivate; from these men, "unimproved" farms could be bought or rented. The Crown and Clergy reserves were intended to produce a rental income and hence were available shortly after 1800 at a moderate cost. Since a few of the Charlottenburgh Loyalists proved either bad farmers or poor patriots and abandoned their farms in Charlottenburgh for the United States, their land reverted to the Crown and could be granted again.⁹⁸ In 1797, therefore, although the settlement pattern of the previous thirteen years seemed threatened by a lack of Crown land, land remained both plentiful and easy of access in Glengarry.

96 Compare McNiff's map of 1796 (PAC Reel M-308, 756) to the 1789 list. See also fn. 93.

97 PAC RG9 I B1 vol. 2, McMillan to Shaw, 7 April 1812.

98 PAC MG11 "Q" Series, vol. 46, pt. 2, Friday, 14 May 1790, Minutes of Council on waste lands of Crown.

Neither the Land Board nor the government surveyors left any formal statement of policy concerning the settlement of emigrants in Glengarry. An analysis of settlement in the county, however, reveals a pattern of settlement by emigrant group. One of the striking facts of settlement history in Glengarry County is that no attempt was made to settle emigrants on unassigned lots located among earlier settlers. Just as had been the case for the 1785/86 emigrants, the three parties that arrived in the 1790s were located in a group in newly surveyed concessions to the north of previous settlers. The organizing factor in the settlement of Glengarry County was thus the group with which the emigrant travelled. The importance of the emigrant group in settlement was enhanced when vacant lots in their concession were acquired by children of the emigrant party. In many instances, the bonds of kinship joined the members of several emigrant groups; yet in less than a majority of cases did emigrants of one group settle with their kin of an earlier group. Doubtlessly the rigidities of the Upper Canadian land granting system and the relative proximity of kin in other parts of Glengarry encouraged settlement by emigrant groups. Certainly ties of blood and community linked members of individual emigrant parties and help explain the primary importance of the emigrant group in the settlement of Glengarry County in 1797.

Chapter 12

Settlement, 1797-1816

(i)

Highland emigrants who arrived in Glengarry County during the first twelve years of settlement obtained Crown grants easily and quickly; the experience of emigrants arriving after 1800 was to be quite different. When Crown land grew scarce in Glengarry during the 1790s, large parts of Prescott County to the north and Stormont to the west remained unassigned. Highland emigrants who reached Glengarry after 1797 ought to have been able still to settle in groups in reasonable proximity to their friends and kin. However, it was at this time that the colonial government, with the approval of imperial officials, introduced new land-granting procedures which "decrease[d] the facility and increased[d] the expense of obtaining land in Upper Canada."¹ Highland emigrants did gradually spill over the bounds of Glengarry County to settle in neighbouring districts, but that movement was diffuse and piecemeal. In the meantime, emigrants of the first decade of the nineteenth century faced delay, hardship and frustration when they reached Glengarry and sought to obtain the 200 acre lots which had been so speedily granted to their predecessors.

Each of the six earliest emigrant groups received land in the spring following their arrival in Canada, and seemingly, every family wanting a grant was accommodated. The Executive Council of Quebec, under Lord Dorchester's direction, had immediately provided for the 1785/86 emigrants, no doubt in order to strengthen the Loyalist settlements. The Eastern District Land Board² and its surveyors were

1 Gates, Land Policies, 46.

2 In 1792, Lunenburg District was renamed the Eastern District.

equally prompt in responding to the demand for land from the 1790, 1792 and 1793 emigrants, likely because these officials were local residents. Highland gentlemen, especially of the Aberchalder family, were members of the Land Board, while James and Hugh McDonell were employed as surveyors. Obviously self-interest combined with a concern for fellow Highlanders to lead these Highland officials to settle land-hungry emigrants as expeditiously as possible. Although the Land Boards were abolished in November 1794, their concern for and efficiency in settling emigrants were not lost; local magistrates, many of them former members of the boards, were then given the power to allow emigrants 200 acre lots.³

However, in 1796 this degree of local autonomy in land granting was lost; at the same time, the Executive Council of Upper Canada introduced what later proved to be an escalating scale of fees on grants of Crown land. On 1st July of that year, the Council revoked the authority given to local magistrates and ordered instead that settlers be required to petition the lieutenant-governor-in-council for land. The Council also adopted a table of fees for land grants set at £2.18s.8d. for the patent deed and £1.7s.6d. for the survey. Such fees were first established and later increased for the same reasons: to obtain more revenue for the colony, to differentiate latter settlers from the deserving Loyalists, and, in the interest of large property-owners, to increase the value of land.⁴ Thus two years later, the patent fee was raised to 6d. per acre, bringing the total cost of survey and patent to £6.7s.6d., and in 1804 these fees were increased again to £8.4s.1d.⁵

³ Gates, Land Policies, 29.

⁴ Ibid., 47.

⁵ Gates, Land Policies, 48, 70. Another increase of 1/9 occurred in 1803 when payment was demanded in sterling and not the previously acceptable Halifax currency.

Other Executive Council regulations similarly made the process of land acquisition more cumbersome and ultimately more expensive. In 1798, the Council ordered that settlers whose petitions for land were approved would have to obtain a location from the Surveyor-General within one month and pay the survey and half the patent fee within that time. In 1802 this regulation was made more restrictive as settlers were then required to pay the entire survey and patent fee within three days of the approval of their land petition. A final twist was given the screw that tightened land granting procedures in Upper Canada when the Council decided in June 1803 that "all future applicants for land must present themselves in person." A journey to York was time-consuming and expensive, especially from Glengarry the easternmost county and 300 miles from that centre. The regulation might almost seem to have been passed to limit the granting of land to people who had other business at the capital or to encourage settlement in the districts adjacent to or west of York. Lillian Gates has commented on the effect changes in land regulations between 1799 and 1804 had across the province:

The new settler was disappointed in his hopes of receiving a free grant, the old settler found himself harried into paying his fees, and even the loyalist or military claimant found that his privileges had been restricted.⁶

In Glengarry County, the effect was perhaps more severe. The loss of local control of land granting, the imposition of escalating fees, and the scarcity of Crown land in Glengarry were major obstacles to the Highland emigrant who hoped to settle there. Nonetheless most Highland emigrants who arrived in Glengarry between 1800 and 1820 did manage to obtain land in the county or its vicinity. This

6 Ibid., 69-70, 74.

achievement reflected the value placed on kin and community by the Highland emigrant, as well as the economic sacrifice which he was willing to make for such traditional goals.

(ii)

No major emigrant groups came to Glengarry between June 1794 when the McLeod party finally reached Upper Canada and the late summer of 1802 when the McMillan and Neptune parties arrived there. Although some thirty-odd families stayed in Lower Canada in 1802, most emigrants of that year continued their journey to Glengarry. Once in the county, these emigrants had a substantially different experience from that of earlier settlers. Rather than receiving a 200 acre lot within a year of their arrival, the emigrants found land difficult to obtain and in some cases they took several decades to acquire a farm. Two factors contributed to the difficulty faced by the 1802 emigrants: the first was the scarcity of Crown land in Glengarry and district, while the second was the financial and bureaucratic burden placed on the applicant for land by the new land-granting procedures. Yet in the final reckoning neither of these factors prevented the 1802 emigrants from settling in the Glengarry district.

Most emigrants took a course which, though more costly financially, was more in keeping with traditional Gaelic values. A fee of £6 itself put a Crown grant out of reach of perhaps 75% of the emigrants and within the years it took the emigrants to raise that sum, Crown lands were virtually exhausted in Glengarry. Nonetheless, the 1802 emigrants did not move to remoter, unsettled regions of the province where Crown grants were more available. Instead most of the emigrants

took the more expensive alternative of renting and/or buying land in Glengarry and vicinity, but convenient to kin and friends. The emigrants' decision to rent land in Upper Canada was partly the result of the distance, cultural as well as geographic, between themselves and the land officers at York. At least two of the 1802 emigrants, John McGillivray and Malcolm McCuaig were "ignorant [of] how to obtain land as was then given to emigrants," and in this circumstance they chose to rent land.⁷ It is significant that in their ignorance of Upper Canadian land granting practices, the two Highlanders turned to the Scottish practice of renting a farm.

One factor which limited the Highland emigrants' knowledge of the local land granting system was the linguistic barrier between the Gaelic-speaking emigrants and English officials. Many were in the same unfortunate position as Angus McDonald of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, who failed to apply for land, at least in part because of his "ignorance of the English language."⁸ The case of Alex McPherson, who arrived in Lancaster township from Inverness-shire in 1801, revealed a second difficulty that many emigrants had in raising the £6 or £8 land fees. McPherson found that although a Crown lot was available, he "was unable to advance the fees required on the Grant ...owing to the weak and helpless condition of his Family and having no other means for their support than his daily labour."⁹ In 1819, Father Alexander Macdonell summed up the obstacles faced by Highland emigrants when they had sought to acquire Crown grants over the preceding twenty years. Macdonell explained that "great numbers" of the Glengarry emigrants had "never yet drawn land, owing to the distance between this [County] and York preventing them from applying

7 PAC Reel C-2203 UCLP M13 (1821) no. 12, 13.

8 PAC Reel C-2204 UCLP M13 (1816-24) no. 275.

9 PAC Reel C-2207 UCLP M14 (1821-6) no. 479.

personally, their want of means to defray the expenses of so long a journey, their ignorance of the English language and &c."¹⁰ Being local in orientation the district Land Boards had obviated some of these difficulties, and after they were re-established in 1815, some of the problems that the Glengarry emigrants had faced over the preceding fifteen years were eased. But the change came long after any Crown land remained unassigned in Glengarry County and was too late to affect the place of settlement of the 1802 emigrants.

Various gentlemen made proposals for the accommodation of the 1802 emigrants, but none met with any substantial degree of success, principally because the emigrants refused to be separated from their friends in Glengarry. In 1803, Lieutenant-Governor Hunter suggested that the emigrants settle near York where Crown grants could be made to them, but the emigrants, who preferred to stay with their friends in Glengarry, "would not agree to go so far out of the world." One year later, Lord Selkirk travelled through the county and observed the unsettled state of the recent emigrants. His hope to recruit three or four emigrant families for his colony at Baldoon, 200 miles west of York, was similarly frustrated.¹¹ Somewhat more attractive was Father Alexander Macdonell's scheme to open Prescott County for settlement by the 1802 emigrants. In May 1806, after considerable prodding from the priest, the government finally ordered the survey of Caledonia Township, which lay in Prescott County immediately north of the 18th of Charlottenburgh.¹² Macdonell claimed that Governor

10 PAC Reel C-4603 UCS, 21343-4. Macdonell to Hillier, 16 June 1819.

11 Selkirk, Diary, 200, 342. Also A.E.D. MacKenzie, Baldoon. (Petrolia, Ont., 1978), 36. MacKenzie points out that Selkirk recruited three young men from Glengarry for Baldoon, but these were not likely recent emigrants since Selkirk only considered recruiting the recent emigrants three months later.

12 PAC Reel C-4503 1714, UCS, 1714.

Hunter had intended the township "for the exclusive use of Highlanders," but for some undetermined reason, the proposed settlement failed to materialize and Caledonia remained ungranted even in 1817.¹³

The most serious attempt to induce the 1802 emigrants to settle outside Glengarry or its immediate vicinity was made by the leader of one of the emigrant groups, Archibald McMillan of Murlaggan. McMillan did not arrive in Canada with any intention of supervising the settlement of his fellow travellers. His part had ended when the emigrant ships reached Canada, and the emigrants were to obtain land for themselves in Glengarry. However, the difficulties experienced by many of the McMillan and Neptune emigrants in obtaining land of their own offered Murlaggan an opportunity to assist other Highlanders as well as to fulfill a personal ambition of becoming a laird.¹⁴ Since McMillan had become a resident of Montreal on arrival in Canada in 1802, he was unable to apply for land in Upper Canada. Instead, encouraged by the much different land granting policies of the lower province, McMillan applied for land there in August 1804 on behalf of 200 of the 1802 emigrants and some 150 other Glengarry settlers.¹⁵ The new Highland community was to be located in three townships along the northern shore of the Ottawa river, 60 miles west of Montreal and 35 miles north of the nearest point in Glengarry.

McMillan's settlement was not the success that the 350 applicants for land initially implied it would be. Murlaggan himself testified

13 PAC Reel C-4504 UCS 2872-75, Macdonell to Halton, 31 Jan 1808. Governor Hunter had come into contact as a military officer with the men of the Glengarry Fencibles in Ireland and was favourably inclined towards the Glengarrians as a result. PAC Reel C-2201 UCLP M12 (1819) no. 193, Donald McLeod.

14 PAC MG24 I 183 File 7, Letterbook, McMillan to Duncan Cameron, 30 Sept 1803, and 8 January 1807.

15 PAC Reel C-2545 LCLP, 66477-78, Arch McMillan, 6 Aug 1804.

in October 1805 that "few of them [are] coming forward to fulfill their engagements though they partly dragged me into the business."¹⁶ For a variety of reasons, far fewer than half of the would-be settlers left Glengarry and district for McMillan's lands in Argenteuil County, and some of these were pre-1802 emigrants. McMillan was somewhat bitter towards and disappointed in his countrymen, blaming their failure to move to Argenteuil on four related factors. Each of McMillan's factors contained an element of truth and together they sum up the traditional values and forces which influenced the settlement of the Glengarry emigrants in the early nineteenth century.

McMillan emphasized first the emigrants' desire to "live among their friends" and their consequent "aversion to going on new land." Since the post-1800 emigrants had difficulty obtaining land of their own, they provided their friends, on whose farms they settled, valuable assistance in clearing that land. The earlier settlers thus had a considerable incentive to encourage the 1802 emigrants to stay in Glengarry, and McMillan noted the active influence of these settlers as a second factor discouraging movement out of Glengarry. The third force working against the dispersal of the emigrants was the economic self-interest of the numerous Glengarry gentlemen. The gentlemen possessed the economic resources and the social position to acquire large property holdings; as McMillan pointed out, "the more population the more will their lands become valuable."¹⁷ The fourth factor mentioned by McMillan, concerned the bureaucratic procedures and physical remoteness of the colonial government's land granting system, a complaint echoed by the emigrants themselves. Although McMillan believed that many of the would-be settlers were "wrong

16 Rev. Somerled MacMillan, Byegone Lochaber, 180.

17 Ibid.

headed", he felt that "their unsteadiness was much augmented by their delays, the Formality and Suspicious conduct of Govern't." All of these factors, when combined with the inability of many emigrants to raise the cash needed for Lower Canadian patent fees in 1807, served to destroy McMillan's hope of settling a majority of the 1802 emigrants in Argenteuil County.¹⁸ The incident revealed the importance of Highland community ties, both emotional and economic, as well as their centripetal effect on the settlement of Glengarry.

In the final analysis, most of the 1802 emigrants did not obtain land through any of the above-mentioned schemes, but chose their own place of settlement. Fifteen months after their arrival in Canada, it was clear that the settlement pattern of the 1802 emigrants would differ substantially from that of the earlier settlers. The great majority of McMillan-Neptune emigrants were not living on land of their own by January 1804.¹⁹ The emigrants were, according to Selkirk, "received into houses of the old Settlers- those who had money for pay - the poor gratuitously."²⁰ Not enough information can be found concerning the fortunes of these emigrants to analyse precisely where and under what conditions they obtained land. The following paragraphs describe the experience of a substantial minority of them and provide an overall view of where the 1802 emigrants settled.

The government seems to have intended to place the 1802 emigrants in Finch Township in the northwest corner of Stormont County,

18 PAC MG24 I 183 File 7 Letterbook. McMillan to...8 January 1807. Also, PAC Reel C-6863, 44934-5. UCS Petition of John Corbet & Others, 10 March 1827. In this petition, 40 of the 1802 emigrants claimed that they were unable to meet McMillan's "unexpected demand" that they pay fees in 1807. They had therefore surrendered their lots, to government they thought, but to McMillan apparently.

19 As in the earlier migrations, a small minority of the 1802 families had the cash needed to purchase a farm; see following pages.

20 Selkirk, Diary, 200.

fifteen miles west of northern Charlottenburgh. Although the survey of Finch was ordered in May 1804, it was not completed until six months later; the result of this delay was to restrict the number of emigrants able to settle there.²¹ The cost of a further year's boarding, added to the post-1796 fees and a more complicated application procedure, limited the number of settlers to thirty-eight. Seventeen of these were from the Lochiel estate, six from Glengarry, five from Glenelg-Kintail, and nine from other parts of the Highlands.²² The Knoydart and Morar emigrants from the Neptune, who had the strongest kin links to Glengarry, were not represented among the Finch settlers, of whom only one was a McDonald and one a McDonell. Close to three-quarters of the 1802 emigrants, who had either arrived in poverty or exhausted their resources during the two year wait, could not pay the required fees to settle in Finch and thereby lost their chief opportunity to obtain a Crown grant in the vicinity of Glengarry.

For various periods of time, these families were forced to live as tenants, or indeed as cottars, cropping a piece of land on the farm of an older settler. It took time to amass the price of a farm since a pioneer community offered little wage labour, particularly for recent Scottish emigrants who lacked the skills needed in the forests of North America.²³ A large proportion of the 1802 emigrants were able to stay with kin already settled in Glengarry. Some 40 emigrants who could not pay fees for land either in Argenteuil or, presumably, in Finch, testified that for some years they were obliged

21 PAC Reel C-4502, UCS, 939-41, James Green to Chewitt & Ridout, York, 24 May 1803. Also Selkirk, Diary, 199.

22 PAC Reel C-2194 UCLP M6 (1803-4) no. 80. Petition of Allan McMillan. The 38th man was John Wright from Ayrshire.

23 Selkirk, Diary, 200; also 342 where he refers to Knoydart and North Morar emigrants.

"to Shelter themselves among their relations in the county of Glengarry."²⁴ Similarly, John McRory is known to have stayed with his brother Eune until he could get land of his own. Other emigrants lived with friends of those who needed help on their farms.²⁵

Renting a farm was one step which the poorer 1802 emigrants could take towards acquiring land of their own. The land policies, first of Quebec and then of Upper Canada, had insured that a substantial amount of land was unoccupied but available for rent. The Crown and Clergy reserves, the varied additional grants to Loyalists, and the large land grants made to gentlemen, all provided potential farms to rent in Glengarry. Some of the emigrants rented from private landowners, including both Loyalists and gentlemen. One older emigrant was reported in 1804 to have settled "on another's lands where he...raised crops enough" for his large family, and kept five milk cows.²⁶

The Crown and Clergy reserves were another important source of rented land for the 1802 emigrants. Some of them rented directly from the Crown, as was the case for Malcolm McCuaig of lot 37 in the 16th of Lancaster, but a majority of the emigrants seemingly obtained their leases through the agency of a middleman.²⁷ There is considerable

24 PAC Reel C-6863, 44934-5. Petition of J. Corbet & others.

25 PAO Father E.J. Macdonald, C-1-2 Box 8 Typescript book, Angus McDonald to Sergt. Rod. McDonald, Oct 1804. Thus Duncan McLean stayed with the McDonalds of lot 25 in the 16th of Lancaster, Duncan McKinnon with the McLeods of lot 18 in the 15th, and Malcolm McCuaig with the McLeods of lot 31 in the same concession. See PAC MG24 I 183 Lochaber, Templeton & Grenville Twp. 1804-7. List of those who assigned their rights to the Lands in Suffolk, Templeton, Grenville etc.

26 PAO Father Ewen J. Macdonald, C-1-2 Box 8, Angus McDonald to Sergt. Rod. McDonald, Oct 1804.

27 PAC Reel C-2203 UCLP M13 (1821) no. 13. Crown and Clergy reserves were first made available for rent by the Executive Council in 1801. The lots were granted on a seven year lease, twice renewable. Rents were set at 10s. (3 bu. wheat), 20s. (6 bu. wheat), and 30s. (9 bu. wheat) for three seven year terms respectively; Gates, Land Policies, 164-5, 198.

evidence to show that several of the Glengarry gentlemen took advantage of the reserves to establish themselves as landlords. Alexander McMillan, leader of the 1792 emigration, rented two reserves in 1802 "with a view of having some Lands in readiness for a number of Emigrants then expected in the Province from Scotland."²⁸ A few years later in 1807, Father Alexander Macdonell rented eleven or twelve Clergy reserves on which he settled emigrants; the priest sought a long-term lease of the lots, explaining that he wished "to accomodate a number of widows & poor people, who would wish to live near their families and friends."²⁹ Among the other gentlemen who leased reserves were Angus McDonell of Greenfield, and Norman McLeod, a brother of Alex McLeod, leader of the 1793 emigration. Clearly the emigrants turned to their traditional leaders for assistance in acquiring land and were not surprised to find themselves renting land through such men. John McGilivray testified to this, explaining that in his ignorance of land granting procedures, he had "purchased a lease of lot 19 in the 15th concession of Lancaster being a Crown reserve from Norman McLeod" who had himself obtained the lot from the Lieutenant-Governor.³⁰

It seems probable that eventually most of the 1802 emigrants became landowners in Glengarry, but unlike earlier groups of emigrants they were scattered across the county and not settled in neighbouring concessions. A fortunate minority were able to purchase farms immediately on arrival; among these was Lauchlan Macdonald who bought a farm fronting on the St. Lawrence in Lancaster Township for £150.

28 PAC Reel C-2201 UCLP M12 (1819) no. 180. Unfortunately the lots, nos. 16 and 22 in the 18th of Lancaster were "so bad in quality of Soil & Situation that no Person could settle upon them."

29 PAC Reel B-299 C042/360, Alex McDonell to Bathurst, 7 July 1817.

30 PAC Reel C-2203 UCLP M13 (1821) no. 12.

Several other west coast emigrants also acquired farms by 1804, the price varying with the location of the property. But it seems likely that most of the emigrants had to wait a much longer time before they were able to buy land. Only in 1824 did Duncan McLean purchase lot 19 in the 15th of Charlottenburgh from its Loyalist owner, Thomas Munro, and it was sixteen years after buying that lot that he acquired the neighbouring lot 20, a clergy reserve.³¹

Although the 1802 emigrants settled in all parts of Glengarry, they can be more closely associated with certain concessions. One part of the group settled on previously unclaimed land in the 1st concession of Lancaster,³² while eight families obtained land in the 9th concession of the same township. Another ten families from Knoydart, Glengarry and Kintail settled one beside the other in the 3rd concession Indian Lands, on the western extremity of Charlottenburgh.³³ Northern Lancaster from the 13th to the 18th concessions was peppered with 1802 emigrants,³⁴ and other local concentrations doubtlessly existed but have not yet been identified. At the same time, a few 1802 emigrants can seemingly be found in any part of the county. For instance, Duncan McGillis settled in the 5th of Lancaster, Alex McNaughton in the 4th concession N.R.R., Alex McLennan in the

31 PAO Father Ewen J. Macdonald. C-1-2. Box 8, Angus McDonald to Sergt. Rod. McDonald. Family tree of L.R. McLean, Victoria, B.C.

32 Selkirk, Diary, 198.

33 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook 3...Family II...list 1 to 26, John Macdonald 71, Mch. "84. Also Notebook (4)...1st page blank. Uncle Donald, "In 1802 came...."; confirmed in interview with Mrs. Florence Macdonell. The Indian Lands are a strip of land, three miles wide east to west and 25 miles south to north. They run from the St. Lawrence between the original boundaries of Glengarry and Stormont, and were reserved for the St. Regis Indians in 1784. In 1815 they were surrendered to the Crown and those holding leases from the Indians, including many 1802 emigrants, were able to purchase their farms.

34 PAC MG29 C29.

10th, Donald the War McMillan and Ludovic Morrison in the 17th,³⁵ the latter four men all in Charlottenburgh. Somewhere between four and two dozen of the 1802 emigrants settled outside Glengarry in adjacent parts of Soulanges County to the east in Lower Canada and in Stormont to the west in Upper Canada.³⁶ While living in separate political units, these people were an integral part of the Highland community which extended beyond the physical boundaries of Glengarry County.

The widespread, yet occasionally concentrated, distribution of the 1802 emigrants in Glengarry and adjacent townships basically reflected the location of unoccupied land in the vicinity of the emigrants' friends and kin at the time of their arrival in Upper Canada. Denied the immediate access to a free Crown grant that earlier emigrant parties had enjoyed, the McMillan-Neptune emigrants nonetheless opted to stay in Glengarry, settling wherever land was available. Land policies of the preceding 18 years had left substantial parts of the county vacant, and so the emigrants settled in the somewhat boggy 1st and the Loyalists 9th of Lancaster, in the heavily reserved north of both Charlottenburgh and Lancaster, and on

35 PAC Reel C-2200 M11 (1811-19) no. 375, Duncan MacGillis. For McNaughton, see Dorothy Dumbrille, Braggart in My Step, (Toronto, 1956), 169; and Illustrated Historical Atlas of S.D. & G. Cos., Ont. (Mika, Belleville, Ont., 1972), 48. Charlottenburgh Twp., 4th con. N.R.R. lot 7. For Alex McLennan, see Dorothy Dumbrille, Up and Down the Glens, 180. For McMillan, see family tree of McMillans, copy held by Hugh McDougald, 4th con. Kenyon. For Morrison, see Thomas Cyrus, History of...Prescott, (Montreal, 1896), 628.

36 PAC MG24 I 183 Lochaber, Templeton etc. 1804-7, List of those who assigned their rights to the land....Donald McDonell, Malcolm McCuaig and Peter McCuaig were in Cote St. George, adjacent to the 7th of Lan. Murdoch McLennan also settled in Soulanges Co., see D. Dumbrille, Up and Down the Glens, 35. Hugh McDonell's parents settled in Cornwall, on lot 10 of the 9th concession: PAC Reel C-2200 UCLP M11 (1811-1819) no. 316.

the rented lots of the Indian Lands. Not enough information has been found to determine precisely how kinship or community ties influenced the settlement of the 1802 emigrants, but it seems clear that friends and relatives in the 1802 parties tried to settle together, or with kin and neighbours who had emigrated earlier. The Highland community of Glengarry was given its final, pervasive character with the settlement of the 1802 emigrants on much of the remaining vacant land in the county.

In the year or two preceding the large 1802 emigrations and in the years immediately following, small parties of Highland emigrants also arrived in Glengarry County. These emigrants came from the same Highland districts as had sent the major Glengarry emigrant groups. Enough land was still available to accommodate these relatively few families, who seem to have obtained land in the same fashion as did the 1802 emigrants. For instance, Duncan McDiarmid who emigrated in 1801 settled in the Indian Lands,³⁷ while eight Cameron and McMillan families who reached Canada in 1803 or 1804 paid fees and obtained Crown grants in Stormont.³⁸ Although Lord Hobart had promised the men of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment Crown grants in Canada in 1803, they had the same experience as other emigrants during these years. With Crown land scarce in Glengarry, and fees high, most chose to rent and then ultimately to purchase lots in the county.³⁹ By 1812, when emigration to Upper Canada was halted by

37 PAC Reel C-2198 UCLP M10 (1809-16) no. 223.

38 PAC Reel C-1650 UCLP C8 (1806-8) no. 5. Six of these emigrants were from Lochiel, one from Glengarry and one from Knoydart.

39 For the poverty of the Glengarry Fencible soldiers and their failure to receive Crown grants, see PAC Reel C-103 RGL L1 Ld. Bk. L (1821-4) vol. 30, 9 July 1823. Most of the Fencibles did settle in Glengarry: see PAC Reel C-2197 UCLP M10 (1807-11) no. 30, Angus McLachlan; also PAO Twp. Papers, Charlottenburgh: Sergt. Don. McDonald, lot 31, 9th con.; James McDonnell, lot 8, 8th con.; Angus McInnis lot 13, 8th con.; Finlay McRae, lot 10, 7th con.; in the Indian Lands, Rod. McDonald lot 13, 7th con. & Ran. McDonald, lot 14, 11th con.

the outbreak of war with the United States, and the fiery cross called the men of Glengarry to defend their new home, the settlement of the southern two-thirds of Glengarry was complete and a new Highland community was well established.⁴⁰

(iii)

In 1815, shortly after peace was restored in Upper Canada, the first assisted emigration from Britain to Canada brought 354 settlers from Glenelg, Knoydart and Perthshire to Glengarry County. Two separate factors led government officials to settle half of the emigrant party in Glengarry. The first lay in the need to strengthen the defensive capabilities of eastern Upper Canada and the second in the identity and the wishes of the emigrants themselves. The initial planning in which the emigration scheme was rooted grew out of British military interests in Canada. The war of 1812 between Britain and the United States was fought primarily across the Canadian frontier and it had made clear the crucial importance of control of the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Kingston if Britain was to maintain possession of Upper Canada. The region between Cornwall and Kingston was particularly vulnerable to attack by the Americans since only the mile-wide St. Lawrence river separates the two nations over that ninety mile stretch. In the twenty-eight years between the settling of the Loyalists along the St. Lawrence and the outbreak of war in 1812, American citizens had crossed the border in considerable numbers and taken up residence on the north shore of the river. In June 1814, one British officer expressed the opinion that:

40 J.A. Macdonell, Sketches, 180. From Col. Coffin, "Chronicle of the War of 1812" (1864).

...a few Years would have rendered Upper Canada, a compleat American Colony, indeed that had been so nearly accomplished on the important line of communication between Kingston and Cornwall, that had it not been for the counterpoise afforded by the Loyal Scotch Settlers of that place Stormont and Glengarry It would have been impracticable to have preserved the communication with the Upper Province....⁴¹

The Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst, had therefore accepted a scheme of assisted emigration so as to provide settlers whose loyalty could be counted on for the eastern part of Upper Canada. Although the actual administration of the scheme was under military control, the cooperation of the provincial government and especially of the Surveyor-General of Upper Canada was essential. In June 1815 when the emigrants were daily expected from Britain, Surveyor-General Thomas Ridout prepared a report detailing the vacant lots (principally the Crown reserves which were specially opened for settlement) available in three counties north of the St. Lawrence, Glengarry, Stormont and Dundas. However, the dispersed nature of these lots did not appeal to the British commander in Canada, Sir Gordon Drummond. Thus in February of the following year, after much wrangling and delay the Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada set aside five unsettled townships, north of the Rideau River, for the accommodation of the assisted emigrants.⁴² In spite of this arrangement, half of the 1815 emigrants settled in Glengarry, one of the locations officially judged unsatisfactory.

As soon as it became clear that many of the assisted emigrants would come from Scotland, government officials in Canada suggested

41 PAC Reel C-4544 UCS, 8495-8506, Edward Baynes, Montreal 18 June 1814.

42 PAO RG1 A-1-2 vol. 22, 113-4, Ridout to McDonell, York 4 June 1815. PAC Reel B-297 C042/357. Drummond to Gore, 25 November 1815. Ibid., Gore to Bathurst, York, 23 Feb 1816. The land on which these townships was located had not yet been purchased from the Indians.

that the Scottish emigrants be settled in Glengarry. In April 1815, the Administrator of Upper Canada, Sir George Murray, asked the Surveyor-General what land in the province could be made available for the expected emigrants. Murray commented that "It would appear sensible, if possible, to place the Settlers from Scotland in the vicinity of the Glengarry Settlement."⁴³ Three months later, Murray's successor, Frederick Robinson, made the same point to the Colonial Secretary, explaining as well why the Scottish emigrants should be settled there. Major-General Robinson believed that the emigrants would "be more comfortable and...[would] prosper more rapidly under the friendly assistance and Local knowledge of their Countrymen, and the Eastern District when fully located...[would] be a more powerful support to the province in either peace or war."⁴⁴ To imperial officials, then, Glengarry County seemed doubly advantageous for the settlement of assisted emigrants from Scotland.

The assisted emigrants left their homes in the spring of 1815 without any indication of where they would settle in Canada. Government advertising promised that they would receive a grant of land but made no mention of a specific location. On their arrival in Canada the emigrants found that they had the choice of settling in Glengarry County or further west in Upper Canada; slightly more than half -- but all of the emigrants from western Inverness -- chose to settle in the Highland community in the spring of the following year.⁴⁵

43 PAC Reel C-4544 UCS, 9789, Murray to Ridout, York, 29 April 1815.

44 PAC Reel B-296 C042/356, 70-1. Robinson to Bathurst, Kingston, 29 July 1815.

45 Two principal "barracks" were opened to accommodate the emigrants over the winter of 1815-6, in Cornwall, adjacent to Glengarry and in Prescott, 40 miles farther up the St. Lawrence. Those who wished to settle in Glengarry chose to stay at Cornwall: PAC Reel C-3158 "C" Series, vol. 621, 67-73, Robinson to Drummond, Kingston, 25 Sept 1815. Also PAC Reel C-4545 UCS, 10501-4, Alex McDonnell to Wm. Gibson, 23 Sept 1815.

In February 1816, Drummond decided to place the assisted emigrants in the Rideau townships, except for those who had been "...promised the Indulgence of Settling amongst their Countrymen" in Glengarry.⁴⁶ The assisted emigrant party was thus divided into two major groups, and those emigrants with family or community ties to the county, or those who preferred a Highland district, settled in Glengarry. While considerations of colonial defence had prompted the organization of an assisted emigration, it was the support of local officials and the choice made by over sixty emigrant families that resulted in the arrival of the last major emigrant group in Glengarry.

The assisted emigrants were originally expected to reach Canada in May of 1815, but the re-opening of hostilities on the continent delayed their arrival until late September. This four month hiatus provided colonial authorities with much-needed time to make arrangements for the reception of the emigrants. Government officials in Canada had consistently adopted the practice of allowing Highland gentlemen to assist in the settlement of their clansmen. In early June 1815 when it was discovered that most of the emigrants would be Scottish, Thomas Ridout selected Duncan McDonell to survey the required lots in the Eastern District. McDonell was a younger son of Alexander of Greenfield, leader of the 1792 emigration, and was appointed by Ridout because he spoke "the Erse Language."⁴⁷ One month later, Alexander McDonell was appointed superintendent of the assisted emigrants; McDonell, a son of one of the Loyalist gentlemen Allan of Collachie, had served as Member of the Legislative Assembly for Glengarry County.⁴⁸ Angus McDonell, nephew of the chaplain and

46 PAC Reel C-4546 UCS, 12279-82, Drummond to Gore, 15 March 1816.

47 PAO RG1 A-1-2 vol. 22, Ridout to Murray, York, 4 June 1815.

48 PAC Reel C-4545 UCS, 9999-10006, R. Loring to Sir. F. Robinson, 17 June 1815. Also Macdonell, Sketches, 114-7.

a lieutenant in the Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment, served as Alex McDonnell's assistant, in charge of the emigrant depot at Cornwall.⁴⁹ When the assisted emigrants finally reached Canada in September, the West Highlanders among them found that the men in charge of the settlement not only spoke the same language but were the sons of their traditional leaders.

Because the 1815 emigrants arrived in Canada in the autumn, they were forced, like most earlier emigrant groups, to wait for the following spring before receiving land of their own. Close to 350 emigrants who had decided to settle in Glengarry spent the winter in barracks in Cornwall and in Lancaster at the mouth of the River Raisin. This was in spite of Superintendent McDonnell's request that the emigrants remain "for the winter in the neighbourhood of Glengarry, where they may be accomodated with quarters by mixing them with their Countrymen already settled there."⁵⁰ The failure of the inhabitants of Glengarry to take the emigrants into their homes was likely the result of the crop failure in Glengarry that year.⁵¹ In the barracks on the St. Lawrence the emigrants were at least assured of army rations lasting the long winter.

The haste with which the assisted emigration had been organized, however, meant that the accommodation provided for the emigrants was not always satisfactory. In November 1815, the Quarter-Master General, Sir Sidney Beckwith, reported that the 50 settlers in the "small Barrack at the River Raisin" were "comfortably lodged." Such was not the case in Cornwall where Beckwith found 300 people "without adequate accomodation." Sir Sidney ordered that the three buildings,

49 PAC Reel C-3158 "C" Series, vol. 621. Robinson to Drummond, 4 Oct 1815.

50 PAC Reel C-4545 UCS, 10501-4. A. McDonnell to W. Gibson, 23 Sept 1815.

51 PAC Reel C-4547 UCS, 13699-702, Petition, 1 Oct 1816.

previously rejected as barracks because of their bad condition, be repaired: windows were to be replaced, berths improved, stoves acquired and a "moderate issue of Fuel" supplied.⁵² After several months in Glasgow, two more on board ship, and six months in quarters such as these in Cornwall, the emigrants must have been grateful indeed to settle on land of their own.

At the same time as the imperial authorities experimented with assisted emigration, they also attempted to bolster Upper Canada's military strength by offering land to military veterans willing to settle in the colony. Both regular British infantry units, which had served in Canada during the war of 1812, and regiments which had been locally recruited to defend the province were eligible for a grant of land. The same office of the Quarter-Master General's department that administered the settlement of the assisted emigrants under the direction of Alex McDonnell was also responsible for granting land to veterans. Like the emigrants, the former soldiers had a choice of settling in Glengarry or in the Rideau townships; many of the men who chose Glengarry did so because they preferred to be "Located near their friends."⁵³ Of the 46 soldiers who received land in Glengarry, 40 had served in the Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment, a fencible unit partially recruited in the county in 1812. Only sixteen of the military settlers from the Glengarry Regiment were Highlanders; most of these men had likely been residents of the county or its vicinity before the war.⁵⁴ The remaining 24 Fencible veterans

52 PAC Reel C-3158 "C" Series vol. 621, 103-9. Report by Sir Sidney Beckwith to Drummond, 21 Nov 1815.

53 PAC RG7 G16C vol. 7 Letter to Surveyor-General, York, 26 Oct 1815.

54 PAO RG1 C-1-3 vol. 101 Return of locations, March 1816, Township of Lancaster. There is a clear implication in J.A. Macdonnell's Sketches, 180-4 that the Glengarry Light Infantry Regiment was recruited primarily in Glengarry Co. This does not appear to be the case since only a small minority of the rank and file bore Highland names.

were a mixed group of lowland Scot, Irish and English soldiers who decided to settle in Glengarry where some of their comrades had close ties.

The discharged soldiers, of course, were already in Canada and were released from military service by the early summer of 1815. Yet, Duncan McDonell did not complete his survey of the Lancaster Crown reserves intended for the emigrants and military settlers until May of the following year. The delay was partly the result of the low wages offered to men employed on the survey; on 1st August 1815 Superintendent Alex McDonell was forced to order soldiers of the Glengarry Light Infantry to make up the surveyor's crew.⁵⁵ By late July of that year, 76 veterans had reported to the settling depot at Cornwall where 43 of them drew rations. McDonell sent the remaining 33 men to "their relations & friends in the immediate neighbourhood...[where they could] be collected at a short notice."⁵⁶ August 3, 1815 was appointed as the day that the military settlers were to draw for their lots in Lancaster, but it is not clear if the men proceeded to occupy them immediately.⁵⁷ Although the non-commissioned officers and men of the Glengarry Light Infantry had been promised 200 acres of land when they enlisted, they actually received only 100 acres.⁵⁸ In arranging the release of Crown reserves, the Upper Canadian Surveyor-General had argued that 100 acres located amidst the older settlements or near water transport was equivalent in value to 200 acres on the fringe of settlement.⁵⁹

55 PAO RG1 A-1-7 Box 10 envelope 2, D. McDonell to A. McDonell, 11 May 1816. PAC Reel C-4545 UCS, 10283-5, A. McDonell to Robinson, 1 Aug 1815.

56 PAC Reel C-4545 UCS, 10202-6, McDonell to Robinson, 28 July 1815. Also lists, 10214-6.

57 PAC Reel C-4545 UCS, 10283-5, McDonell to Robinson, 1 Aug 1815.

58 PAC Reel C-3158 "C" Series, vol. 622, 38-56, Petition of men.

59 PAO RG1 A-1-2 vol. 22 Ridout to Murray, 4 June 1815.

Colonial officials accepted this argument and 100 acres was the standard grant made to both assisted emigrants and military settlers.

On 29th February 1816, Lt. Angus McDonell assigned lots in Lancaster to a majority of the assisted emigrants.⁶⁰ Some 52 emigrants, 49 of whom can be identified as men named on the 1815 passenger list, as well as 40 veterans of the Glengarry Light Infantry, and eleven other settlers, received land in the township by March 1816.⁶¹ The surveyor had divided each 200 acre Crown reserve in half and the 1815-16 settlers received either a south (front) 100 acre lot, or a north (rear) 100 acre lot. The settlers' placement in Lancaster reflected the distribution of Crown reserves in the township, along what had been the periphery of settlement when the reserves were created in 1794. Three-quarters of the 103 settlers placed in Lancaster were located on lots 1 to 8 of the 10th through 17th concessions. Only in the 17th concession, unallocated when the reserves were established, were several lots west of lot 15 assigned.

The assisted emigrants and the former soldiers were generally not settled in separate parts of Lancaster. However, the distribution of lots among the 1815-16 settlers was not random: there were several clusters of settlers of similar origins in single concessions, or more often, in parts of adjacent concessions. Ten of the fourteen assisted emigrants from Perthshire received land within a four mile stretch of the 17th concession. They occupied the front and rear halves of lots 1, 7 and 9, the rear half of lots 3, 5 and 11, and the front half of lot 15. With one exception, all the lowland emigrants were part of two clusters in Lancaster Township; four families were located in the western half of the 17th concession, and nine

60 PAC Reel C-2203 UCLP M13 (1818-23) vol. 180, Arch McLaren.

61 PAC Reel C-4547 UCS, 12906. Abstract of locations.

families settled within two miles of one another in the 14th concession. Finally, men of the Glengarry Light Infantry and other regiments formed a dense cluster in the southeast corner of the township, occupying 17 out of 24 lots within a radius of a mile and a quarter.⁶²

Once again the emigrants' desire to settle in the company of kin and friends from the same district in Scotland produced small clusters of related families. For instance, Donald McDougall and his sons James and Alex settled on three adjacent 100 acre lots in the 15th concession, while a fourth McDougall from Knoydart occupied half of the next lot to the east.⁶³ Indeed, in some cases the value placed on settling in the immediate vicinity of kin was so high, that emigrants were led to accept land of inferior quality. Thus when Duncan McDonell of Knoydart turned down the rear half of lot 2 in the 13th concession because it was bad land, the same lot was accepted by John McRae from Glenelg. McRae explained that he had made this choice "as no other vacant Lot was to be had in settlement &...[he was] anxious to be settled along with his Brothers & namesakes who were located on adjoining lots."⁶⁴

Such rearrangements of lot locations to bring together family groups was made possible at least in part by the lack of interest which some military settlers showed in occupying their grants. Duncan McDonell was able to find a lot more to his liking in Lancaster because William Barret of the 5th Regiment had left the rear half of lot 1 in the 10th concession for Charlottenburgh. Similarly Alex and John Macdonell were granted lots 2 in the 10th and 38 in the 15th

62 PAO RG1 C-1-3 vol. 101, Return of locations, March 1816, Lancaster.

63 *Ibid.* For names & family relationships, see PAC MG11 C0385, vol. 2 List of settlers...1815, nos. 129, 130, 131 and 164.

64 PAC Reel C-2208 UCLP M14 (1821-6) no. 540, Duncan McDonell; no. 540.

respectively after these lots were abandoned by their military occupants. Other veterans were not particularly concerned about their precise location in the township and were willing to exchange lots. John Prentice of the Glengarry Light Infantry, for one, did not intend to settle immediately on his lot in the 17th concession. As a result, the number of Perthshire emigrants in that concession was increased by one when Arch McLaren exchanged his allocation in the 13th concession for Prentice's in the 17th.⁶⁵ McLaren explained that he was "desirous to Settle near his friends & Country men": six McLaren families were already located in the 17th concession.⁶⁶ The Perthshire emigrants, like their companions from western Inverness, showed the same determination to settle in the vicinity of kin and neighbours.

While a majority of the assisted emigrants were placed in Lancaster with the military settlers, 20 men received their 100 acre grant from the Crown reserves of West Hawkesbury Township in Prescott County.⁶⁷ West Hawkesbury lies to the north of, and at an angle to Lancaster Township so that West Hawkesbury's 6th and 9th concessions are cut short by the 18th concession of the southern township. The twenty emigrants were likely assigned land in West Hawkesbury because of a shortage of acceptable lots in Lancaster, yet there is no direct evidence of how the party was divided. Nineteen of the twenty settlers were natives of Glenelg, but the origin of the twentieth man is unknown.⁶⁸ None of the Hawkesbury emigrants came

65 PAC Reel C-2204 UCLP M13 (1816-24) no. 283, Alex McDonell; Reel C-2206 UCLP M14 (1821-5) no. 234, John Macdonell. PAC Reel C-2203 UCLP M13 (1818-23) no. 180, Arch McLaren.

66 PAO RG1 C-1-3, vol. 101, Returns, Lancaster.

67 PAC Reel C-2204 UCLP M14 (1822-24) no. 47.

68 PAC MG11 C0385 vol. 2, List of settlers...1815, no. 91 (son Alex), 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 147. The 20th man was Duncan Dewar, described as an assisted emigrant in PAC Reel C-2204 UCLP M14 (1822-4) no. 47, but his name does not appear on the above-mentioned list of settlers, unless it is misrepresented as Duncan McLeoir, no. 134.

from Knoydart, Perthshire or lowland Scotland. It seems quite probable that, when it became apparent that part of the 1815 group would be placed outside Lancaster Township, the emigrants themselves decided who would settle in West Hawkesbury. Not all of the Glenelg emigrants were accommodated in the northern township; six families settled in the 13th and two in the 16th of Lancaster. But the West Hawkesbury settlers, separated from the bulk of the 1815 party, came from a single Highland district and were linked by ties of kinship.

Over half the emigrants settled in West Hawkesbury were placed in the 7th and 8th concessions, no more than three miles from the boundary with Lancaster. These men occupied six of the eighteen 100 acre lots in the 8th concession, and eight of the twenty-seven 100 acre lots in the 7th concession. In most instances both the front and rear sections of these lots were occupied, and the 14 emigrants were located within three and a half miles of each other. Family ties linked several of the 14 settlers in this area: Alex McRae and his son Arch were assigned the two halves of lot 15 in the 7th, while John McCrimmon was placed on the front of lot 8, his son Farquhar on the front of lot 17, and Finlay McRae, likely John's brother-in-law, on the rear of lot 17 in the same concession. A smaller number of assisted emigrants were allocated land three and a half miles farther north in West Hawkesbury. Two families were settled on lot 8 in the 3rd concession and another four on lots 4 and 11 in the 4th concession. It seems likely that the Alex and John McRae occupying the front and rear halves of lot 4 in the 4th were father and son.

When the assisted emigrants received their land grants in the late winter of 1816, they completed the first step of settling in

Upper Canada. Unusual weather conditions wreaked havoc with the harvest during that summer, and the emigrants lost all their first small crop of Indian corn and potatoes. The new settlers had been subsisting on government rations which were due to be cut off at Christmas 1816, but sixty of them petitioned successfully for further support.⁶⁹ Most of the assisted emigrants received patents from the Crown, giving them absolute, legal title to their land between 1824 and 1828.⁷⁰ The acquisition of the patent, which indicated that the settlers had built a house and cleared a few acres, signified the successful establishment of the 1815 emigrants in Upper Canada. By the mid-1820s many of the assisted emigrants had erected both a house and outbuildings on their lots and had labouriously cleared fourteen, twenty or even thirty acres for cultivation.⁷¹

(iv)

The preceeding examination of settlement in Glengarry County between 1784 and 1816 reveals how the interplay of two factors influenced the course of that settlement. The first of these factors was the availability of land; the second was the bond of kinship and community which joined emigrants with members both of their own group and of other emigrant groups. Of critical importance in the settlement of the county was the availability of land on which the emigrants might settle. Between 1784 and 1796, government policy encouraged the speedy settlement of emigrants; as each group arrived in Glengarry, its members were quickly assigned land in a body across one

69 PAC Reel C-4547 UCS, 13693-5. Petition of settlers arrived from Scotland last year, 1 Oct 1816.

70 PAO RG1 C-1-3 vol. 96, Fiats of Military Emigrants, Lochiel and West Hawkesbury Townships.

71 For instance, see PAC Reel C-2204 UCLP M13 (1816-24) no. 283, Alex McDonell; Reel C-2206 UCLP M14 (1821-5) no. 234, John Macdonell; Reel C-2208 UCLP M14 (1821-5) no. 540, Duncan McDonell.

or more concessions. Most emigrants settled with other members of their own party, some of whom were close relations, but were separated from kinsmen already living in the county. The 1784 to 1793 emigrants wanted their own Crown grants and accepted lots ten or fifteen miles distant from some of their kinsmen.⁷²

On the other hand, after 1796 government policy made the acquisition of a Crown grant increasingly difficult for poor emigrants, and Crown land virtually disappeared in Glengarry. In these circumstances, West Inverness-shire emigrants more often preferred to rent or purchase in reasonable proximity to their kin rather than receive a Crown grant in some quite distant township. The 1802 emigrants and others of this period, settled wherever they could find land which they could afford and often as near as possible to kinsmen from earlier groups. In 1815 the assisted emigrants settled on the lots made available for them; the West Highlanders in the party unanimously chose Glengarry rather than Perth because kin and neighbours were already located in the former county. Related families or friends formed small clusters within the largest assisted emigrant settlement. The settlement of Glengarry occurred under the limits set by the interaction of these two factors, the availability of land and the importance of community.

The reason behind the powerful influence of these two factors lay in the nature of the emigration from the Highlands to Glengarry County. The chief attraction of Upper Canada for the emigrants was its abundant land. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, profit-oriented landlords had threatened or denied the Highland tenants' right to land; in response, many tenants left the West

72 Such a distance might well have separated cousins resident in Scotland.

Highlands for Glengarry where they could obtain land of their own. However, their departure was predicated on a belief that they would be able to settle in a community of family and friends. Thus, close-knit individual emigrant groups accepted Crown grants that were not immediately adjacent to other kinsmen. But when Crown land became available to West Highland emigrants only at some distance from Glengarry, the emigrants chose the ultimately more costly and time-consuming route of renting and purchasing land in the vicinity of their friends.

A third fact of considerable importance emerges from an analysis of settlement in Glengarry County. This is the pivotal role played by traditional Highland leaders in the settlement of Glengarry, which in turn underlines the conservative nature of the community that emerged there. These leaders ranged in social status from men of local standing like Angus Ban Macdonell of Muniel, to prominent clan gentlemen such as Alex Macdonell of Greenfield, second cousin of the Glengarry chief. The preceding account of West Highland emigration to the county reveals that eight of the nine emigrant groups included among their members one or more of these men, generally in a leadership capacity.⁷³ Yet not only did such men play an important role in the actual emigration, but they also had a significant part in the organization of the settlement. Given that emigrants to Glengarry dealt almost exclusively with Highland gentlemen during the process of settlement, it might well have been possible for the clansmen to imagine that he had not left western Inverness, at least socially.

Traditional Highland leaders played a critical role in acting for their fellow clansmen at three points during the settlement period. The first occurred as the various emigrant groups arrived in

73 The ninth group was the government-organized 1815 emigration.

Canada, eager to acquire land. Colonial officials, themselves often Scottish, depended on the traditional leaders within each group both to express to government the emigrants' wishes, and to explain to the clansmen official policies and procedures. This relationship was particularly evident in the case of Lieut. Angus Macdonell and the 1786 emigrants, but all the 1784 to 1793 emigrant parties seem likely to have had a prominent member of the group act as their spokesman. The second point at which the emigrants were assisted in obtaining land lay within the county itself. Far more often than not, the local official engaged in some aspect of land granting, be he land board member, surveyor, magistrate or receiving officer, was a Highlander, related to one of the leading families in Western Inverness.

The third point where traditional Highland leaders intervened between the clansmen and the colonial administration lay in working out the fine print of settlement arrangements. Problems invariably arose over the emigrants' land holdings, particularly in the case of the 1802 emigrants who did not immediately receive Crown grants, but were forced to acquire land on their own. Highland gentlemen served as intermediaries in these cases, advising what action to take, furnishing recommendations, and acting as agents for the clansmen. The chaplain, Father Alexander Macdonell, was especially active in this regard, but so were the members of the Legislative Assembly, such as Lieut. Angus Macdonell and later Duncan Cameron.⁷⁴ In some instances, however, the gentlemen's economic interests clearly impinged on the emigrants' own best interests. The Glengarry leaders encouraged the

74 PAO Father Ewen J. Macdonald Coll. B-4-2 Box 8, Bishop Macdonell Papers, "The Address of Bishop Macdonell to the Catholic and Protestant Freeholders". [1836]. Bishop Macdonell emphasized how many people he had helped get land.

growth of a large population in the county so as to profit from the subletting of leases on reserved lots and from the sale of additional lands they had acquired. The social elite throughout Upper Canada operated in much the same fashion, but unlike the Glengarry gentlemen, rarely did the prominent men of other counties come from the same region of Europe as the settlers in that county. In Glengarry, however, because of the dense pattern of emigration, not only was the local elite from the same Highland districts as the great majority of the population, but that elite was related by blood to the clan leaders who for generations had led the families of the emigrants.

The emigrant group and the kin group were two overlapping bodies of fundamental importance in the settlement of Glengarry County. The significance of the kin group did not mean that all members of an extended family were located in adjacent parts of a concession. Because of the way in which land was made available, most managed to settle within the county or its immediate vicinity and each nuclear family was likely very near other related families. The Loyalist, 1785/86, 1790, 1792, 1793 and 1815 emigrant groups were placed in six, geographically distinct parts of Glengarry. Even the 1802 groups, while scattered across the county, partially conformed to the pattern of settlement by emigrant group; they formed small clusters within the districts allocated to earlier groups. Part of what gave the emigrant group its cohesion was the bond of kinship which linked many of its members. Yet the shared experience of a heart-wrenching migration and of group settlement made the emigrant group perhaps as important as the kin group. The emigrant group and the kin group each created a tight web of relationships that linked Highland families; together the emigrant group and the kin group formed the warp and the woof of the Highland community of Glengarry County.

Chapter 13

Conclusion

(i)

The clansmen who emigrated from western Inverness to Glengarry County chose to leave Scotland in groups of kin and neighbours when Highland economic development took a course incompatible with certain traditional values. Their departure from Scotland can best be understood in the context of the political and economic integration of the Highlands into southern British society after 1750. The first phase of social and agricultural reform had limited effect in the west Highland district. The tenants of the Forfeited Estates of Barisdale and Lochiel began to adopt southern styles of housing, crop management, and fencing; they witnessed the imposition of a new system of justice, a change in the ownership of the land they lived on, and increased production of cattle for an external market. Other western Inverness estates experienced many of the same changes, although the rate and effect of the commercialization of agriculture varied on each estate. Before 1780, the right of the kin to land was rarely threatened and the clansmen of western Inverness accepted, albeit grudgingly at times, modest changes in their communities.

The second phase of economic development in the Highlands saw the introduction of large-scale sheep farming to provide wool and mutton for the industrializing south. In varying piecemeal, or stage-by-stage, or wholesale fashions, landlords reorganized their estates on commercial principles. The tenants of western Inverness, whether completely dispossessed or not, faced the destruction of their traditional communities and a loss of social and economic status. Between 1773 and 1815, these tenants chose to emigrate to Glengarry County in

nine group emigrations, in spite of considerable opposition from the landlords; a distinct pattern can be seen in the character and origin of the emigrants and how and why they left Scotland. The small-scale emigration that followed in the fifty years after 1815 differed from the group migrations in the manner of departure, but the identity of the emigrants remained essentially the same.

The people of the nine emigrant groups came predominantly from the contiguous west Highland districts of Glengarry, Lochiel, Knoydart and Glenelg. Each of these areas sent successive groups of emigrants to the county. There were departures from Glengarry in 1773, 1785, 1792 and 1802, from Lochiel in 1792 and 1802, from Knoydart in 1786, 1802 and 1815, and from Glenelg in 1793, 1802 and 1815. In addition neighbouring districts with community or kinship ties to this region furnished a further number of emigrants. Thus the Grants, Camerons and Macdonells of Glenmoriston joined the 1773 emigration from Glengarry, and families from Eigg and Morar emigrated in 1790 and 1802 to join their Knoydart friends in Canada. Even the individual emigrations after 1816 attracted settlers chiefly from this same geographic heartland or its immediate vicinity. Only the emigrants from Perthshire who were part of the 1815 group originated in another Highland region, and they too were soon followed by former neighbours.

The great majority of the Glengarry emigrants left Scotland in family groups and the number of children was correspondingly high. The 1773, 1786, 1790 and 1815 emigrant parties were notable for containing a larger percentage of children than did the Highland population as a whole. The 1786 and 1792 emigrants were described in contemporary accounts as parties of Highland families, while over 90% of

the 1790 and 1815 emigrants travelled in family groups.¹ Clearly the geographic bias of Glengarry emigration made the presence of kinsmen and neighbours in the nine emigrant parties not unlikely. The evidence presented suggests that almost all the Glengarry settlers were accompanied by siblings or cousins as well as by a few friends; moreover, similar ties of blood linked the separate emigrant parties. For instance many of the 1786 Knoydart emigrants were brothers and sisters who were going to Canada to join cousins who had emigrated in 1773.

A social analysis of the Glengarry emigrants reveals considerable homogeneity both in social status and in occupation. A few of the emigrants were members of the gentry; by far the largest number were tenants from the broad middle rank of Highland society. The 1773, 1785 and 1786 emigrants were all described as "better-off" or "principal" tenants. While not necessarily quite as prosperous, the emigrants of the 1790 to 1802 departures were also tenants and men of some social standing. There is no explicit evidence concerning the status of the assisted emigrants, but their ability to pay the required deposit suggests that they too were tenants with stock to sell. In line with the overwhelmingly agrarian nature of Highland society, the heads of household in eight of the migrations were described as farmers. Even the 1815 emigrants from the west Highlands were predominantly farmers, accompanied by a small group of young labourers. Only the Perthshire and Lowland emigrants of 1815, who were chiefly craftsmen and labourers, differed from other Glengarry settlers.

1 Roughly 35% of the Highland population was aged 0-12 years during the period between the O.S.A. and the 1821 census. Forty-seven percent of the 1773 emigrants were aged 0-15, while 46% of the 1786, 42.5% of the 1790, and 48% of the 1815 emigrants were twelve and under. See Flinn, Scottish population history, 445.

Significant similarities can also be found in both the reasons for emigration and the circumstances of departure of the nine groups. The underlying factor in Highland emigration to Glengarry County was the commercialization of Highland agriculture and land-holding in the eighteenth century. Steadily increasing rents and the new sheep farming squeezed Highland tenants out of their previously comfortable agricultural holdings. A sudden shift to commercial rents lay behind the 1773 emigration, and rising rents influenced the 1786, 1790, 1793 and both 1802 departures. The introduction of sheep farming on the Glengarry, Scotus, Clanranald and MacLeod estates contributed to the successive emigrations from those estates in 1785, 1786, 1790, 1793, 1802 and 1815. Yet it is essential to emphasize that the introduction of sheep farming did not force Highland tenants to emigrate; emigration to Glengarry County was the choice of those who refused to accept the diminished economic and social position offered tenants under the new order. Behind the emigration of these nine groups to Glengarry lay a desire to preserve the traditional values of land and community that were no longer respected by Highland landlords.

The actual organization of eight of the emigrations seems to have followed a single pattern; only the 1815 emigration differed substantially from the others. The first eight emigrations to Glengarry were locally-organized, community departures. No emigration agent was needed in the west Highlands to drum up dissatisfaction with home and enthusiasm for North America, and to fill these ships. The tenants themselves decided to emigrate and one of their number, usually a gentleman, made the arrangements. In some instances this leader was a relative of the chief: Macdonells of Aberchalder, Collachie and Leek in 1773, Father Scotus in 1786, Miles Macdonell in

1790, and Macdonell of Greenfield in 1792. In other cases he was a tacksman or substantial tenant: Allan Macdonell in 1785, Kenneth McLeod in 1793 and McMillan of Murlaggan in 1802. The departures were made from the port nearest to the emigrants' home (Fort William, Culreagh or Loch Nevis), another indication of the community organization and control of the venture.² In contrast, the 1815 departure was a government-organized experiment which sailed from Glasgow. Even here, however, the Glengarry County emigrants travelled to Clydeside in small parties from Knoydart, Glenelg and Loch Tay.

The manner in which the emigrants settled in Glengarry County reflected their desire to obtain land and their concern to live in a community of kin and friends. During the twelve years following 1784, land was readily available and the emigrants generally settled with other members of their party, who were often kin and neighbours. After 1796 when land became more difficult to obtain in Glengarry itself, the emigrants continued to settle in the vicinity of kinsmen or friends already in the county or with other members of their own emigrant party, even if this sometimes involved renting rather than being given land. The conservative nature of the new community was evident in the continued pre-eminence of traditional Highland leaders who acted for the clansmen on arrival and served as middlemen between the colonial authorities and the emigrants. As in western Inverness after 1750, the clansmen of Glengarry County showed themselves willing to accept modest change, if it was compatible with traditional values of land and community. The emigrants made no serious attempt to modify the dispersed pattern of settlement that was the result of the Upper

2 Only in the case of the 1792 emigrants is there a suggestion that they sailed from a non-Highland port; the Quebec Gazette of 27 Sept 1792 announced their arrival in Greenock in nine weeks. This may well refer merely to the ship's port of origin.

Canadian land granting system. Rather the Highlanders took advantage of the land available in the new Glengarry to become, not joint tenants, but individual owners of one hundred acres or more and thus to guarantee the survival of the community in a commercial world.

(ii)

Very often the simplest questions are the hardest to answer. In 1955, historian Mildred Campbell wrote of the need for "additional data on those old, but to a great extent still unanswered questions" of American history: who the emigrants "actually were, whence they came and why?" In spite of "significant studies on certain aspects of the English background" of emigrants to colonial America, Professor Campbell found these basic questions still unanswered.³ Now, a generation later, a great deal of work remains to be done before historians can write with confidence about the emigrants who peopled Upper Canada. This study has described the Highland emigrants who settled in Glengarry County and attempted to answer the pertinent concerns of both Scottish and Canadian historians.

In the Scottish context, this detailed examination of the emigrants who left western Inverness for Glengarry County gives significant insight into the radical transformation of social and agrarian structures in the Highland district in the second half of the eighteenth century. While the clansmen reluctantly accommodated themselves to the commercialization of the Highland economy and the shift of power to southern authorities, they resolutely maintained their right to obtain a living from the land in a traditional Gaelic community. When

3 Mildred Campbell, "English Emigration on the Eve of the American Revolution," The American Historical Review, vol. LXI, no. 1 (1955).

that right was denied, in a minor degree by large rent increases, and then overwhelmingly by the creation of sheep farms, many of the people of western Inverness emigrated to Upper Canada. The kin- and community-based nature of the emigration and the eager acquisition of land within a Gaelic settlement are evidence of the emigrants' continuing commitment to these traditional values. Between 1784 and 1803, emigration, particularly from Knoydart, Glengarry and Glenelg seems to have been limited almost solely by the cost of a passage across the Atlantic. Large numbers of emigrants left western Inverness, including close to 25% of the population of Knoydart in one sailing in 1786. A more profound, better organized protest against the creation of sheep farms and the loss of traditional lands and community cannot easily be imagined.⁴

How representative of other Highlanders was the response of the western Inverness clansmen to the radical transformation of their local community? Certainly in the western Inverness case, circumstances combined to favour emigration. The landlords' adoption of new policies occurred at a time when many of the tenants could afford an Atlantic passage, when they had friends to join in Glengarry County, and when land was available on which to build a new community. The recently published works of some Canadian and Scottish historians suggest that Highland emigration before 1830 might generally be regarded as the clansmen's strong protest against landlord-imposed

4 Eric Richards, "How Tame were the Highlanders during the Clearances?", *Scottish Studies*, vol. 17 (1973). Richards refers to a minimum of forty instances of a "pre-industrial" type of violent response to the Clearances. Clearly if emigration is also viewed as a protest, the level of violent response was much more substantial.

change.⁵ By the early nineteenth century emigration had become part of the fabric of Highland society. As late as 1769, emigration was an unknown alternative and was not immediately considered as a response to landlord-tenant conflict.⁶ In the sixty years following that date, however, emigration was included within the parameters of Highland life and became one solution to the conflict of interest between landlord and tenant. The landlords' change of position by mid-nineteenth century and their enthusiastic advocacy of emigration robbed the movement of much of its character as an act of protest; emigration has, nonetheless, to this day remained deeply embedded in Highland life.

In the Canadian context, this description of the emigrants who settled in Glengarry County highlights the traditional Gaelic inheritance of the new community. What is remarkable about the Glengarry emigrants is the degree of control which they exercised over their departure from Scotland. The usual stereotype of Highland emigrants presents them as the poorer members of society, a despairing remnant of an archaic culture, forced to board ship for Canada. In contrast the Glengarry clansmen were tenants of modest standing, who chose to come to Canada out of respect for certain traditional values, and who managed their settlement in the county so as to create a Gaelic community.

5 J.M. Bumsted, in "Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New Look at an Old Theme," *Acadiensis*, vol. X, no. 2 (1981), 65-85, persuasively argues that the 12,000 Highlanders who emigrated to British North America between 1770 and 1815 rejected the role they were assigned in the new Highland economy, in favour of more traditional life in the colonies. James Hunter points out numerous instances of emigration between 1800 and 1833 in which west Highland tenants refused to accept the loss of traditional lands, Hunter, *Crofting Community*, 20, 29, 36, 41-2.

6 SCA Blairs Papers Aeneas McGillis, 13 November 1769. McGillis reports that the people cannot pay new exorbitant rents, "which will be ye cause of their Scattering, God knows where."

The nature of emigration to Glengarry County favoured a relatively high degree of cultural continuity. Other Canadian emigrant parties resembled the Glengarry settlers in certain ways, but few non-Highland groups displayed the same remarkably uniform origin and the dense yet extensive pattern of settlement that was evident among the clansmen of Glengarry. The Irish emigrants studied by J.J. Manion were, like the Glengarry people, principally small farmers from adjacent districts squeezed out of their traditional holdings by a shift to pastoral farming. However, the Irishmen emigrated between 1810 and 1835 as young, unmarried individuals or in nuclear families and took up land in settlements which were Irish, but not kin-based. The key to the difference between Irish and Highland emigrations might be in the weakening of traditional Gaelic communities in Ireland before departure overseas. Most Irish settlers were already bilingual, and Manion describes emigration as a "highly individualistic solution to the economic and social ills that encumbered the Irish peasant."⁷ In contrast, emigration to Glengarry was a communal solution to the problems facing the clansmen of western Inverness. Rosemary Ommer has even argued that migration first to Cape Breton and thence to Newfoundland actually strengthened the bonds of kinship among Highland emigrants.⁸

Certain smaller emigrant groups also displayed a pattern of emigration which in some ways mirrored the experience of the Glengarry settlers. Similarities can be observed between the Glengarry emigrants and the Yorkshire settlers of Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. Many of these Englishmen were prosperous tenant farmers who left the north and

7 Manion, Irish Settlements, 16.

8 Rosemary Ommer, "Highland Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland," The Peopling of Newfoundland, J.J. Manion, ed., (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977), 230-2.

east ridings in family groups between 1772 and 1774, because enclosures and rising rents threatened their possession of the land.⁹ The ballad of the Albion concerning a party of Welsh emigrants to New Brunswick points to several tantalizing resemblances between them and the Glengarry settlers. The 150 Welsh-speakers were "not a desperate and dispossessed rabble,... but [farmers who] possessed a powerful and coherent sense of communal identity."¹⁰ What these cases do is to suggest that the individual elements of the pattern of emigration to Glengarry County were not uncommon in the Canadian experience. In particular, farming families from a middling level of society in regions across Britain and Ireland were likely to emigrate with groups of friends. These people left their homes in response to the actual or feared loss of social and economic status that resulted from the commercialization of agriculture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the exceptional case of the Glengarry emigrants, circumstances favoured the departure of some 3000 people in a series of kin- and community-based emigrations to a single destination over more than sixty years. It is this intense and sustained character that makes Highland emigration to Glengarry County exceptional.

(iii)

In the two decades that marked the end of large-scale emigration to Glengarry, 1800 to 1820, the population of the county grew rapidly through natural increase. No detailed population statistics survive for this period, but the scattered figures available, as well as contemporary observations, emphasize the high birth rate and early age of

9 Mildred Campbell, "English Emigration", 10-13.

10 Peter Thomas, introduction to "The Ballad of the Albion," Acadiensis, vol. XI, no. 1 (Autumn 1981), 83.

marriage. In 1806, Father Alexander Macdonell, the chaplain, noted that the Catholic population of Glengarry had reached 1,400 souls. In the previous twelve months, the priest had baptized 154 infants, performed 32 marriages and buried fifteen adults. Father Macdonell explained that "the growing population of this settlement...is the less to be wondered at when you are informed that all the young people remain always in the Country & Marry as soon as they become of age. There [sic] constant endeavours to get settled as near as to their friends as possible make lands in this district very scarce and valuable." The Presbyterian congregation of St. Andrews behaved in a similar fashion, and in 1806 the minister John Bethune baptized 96 infants and performed twelve marriages.¹¹

By 1828, the population of Glengarry County had reached a remarkable 8,654 souls. The inhabitants included 4,755 Presbyterians, 3,823 Roman Catholics, 76 Episcopalians, but not one dissenter.¹² The religious composition of Glengarry society suggests that few Americans or Englishmen were resident there and, with the possible exception of French-Canadian Catholics, underlines the overwhelmingly Scottish origin of the community. The rate of natural increase in the county was obviously very high; a comparison of the Catholic population of 1806 and that of 1828 reveals an increase of 124% over twenty-two years, even after allowance is made for the arrival of 300 emigrants. While this figure may overestimate the natural rate of increase in Glengarry by not properly calculating migration into the county, the adjacent colony of Lower Canada did double its population in twenty-five years during the same period. Shortly after the end

11 SCA Blairs Papers Alexander McDonell to Charles Maxwell, 26 Nov 1806. Also PAC MG9 D7/14, vol. 1, Parish Register of St. Andrews Williamstown.

12 P.P. 1828 (569) vol. VII, 526.

of the Napoleonic Wars, the "Glengarry Scotch" had spread over the Glengarry townships and filled as well large parts of Hawkesbury, Cornwall, Finch and Roxborough. In 1816 Father Alexander Macdonell asked colonial officials to reserve another seven townships north and west of Glengarry for future Highland emigrants and the children of present Scottish settlers. The chaplain predicted that the Highland "settlement would in a few years join that forming now on the River Rideau & in the course of a few years would extend to the Rice Lakes and from thence to Lake Simcoe." At the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century, it was possible for Highlanders to dream of an eastern Upper Canada dominated by Scotch settlers.

The effect of emigration on the communities of western Inverness was to divide them into two parts, with one on each side of the Atlantic. The seventy-five years of emigration from the west Highland district to Glengarry County is evidence of the continuing contact between the two segments. Ties of kinship remained important and the Atlantic Ocean was not necessarily a barrier to the inheritance of land. One John Macdonell emigrated from Glenmoriston in the 1770s and, on his death in Canada in 1804, left the east half of a lot in Charlottenburgh to his nearest kinsman in the country. A distant relation Alexander Macdonell thus took possession of the land as a caretaker legatee until a closer relative should come from Scotland. In 1805 John's nephew Angus did emigrate from Glenmoriston to take over his uncle's property. Still to a significant degree members of one's community, the Highlanders of Glengarry and of western Inverness acknowledged their responsibilities to family members.¹³

13 KAA A12C5 Observations on the Scotch Settlements in British North America. For story of Angus Macdonell's inheritance, see PAC Reel C-2196 UCLP M9 (1804-11), 106, Angus Macdonell.

The continuation of emigration to Glengarry from western Inverness over several generations was, at least in part, a reflection of the enthusiastic reaction to Upper Canada of the earlier emigrants. A man of education such as Father Alexander Macdonell could perceive the potential of the New World in sophisticated terms:

The govtrts of the continent of Europe seem
like old crazy machines which age & abuse
are hurrying fast into decay, & whose consti-
tuent parts appear almost beyond repair.
That the new world will have its own time
of power, of civilization, & Religion re-
quires no reflection to see.¹⁴

The reaction of the ordinary clansmen to Glengarry is not well documented, but poems made by two of the emigrants in the first half of the nineteenth century do give insight into their response to the new land. One poem was composed by Iain Iath Macdonald, who emigrated from Knoydart in 1786, and the other by Anna McGillis, who was born in Morar but left Knoydart with her husband's people in 1802.¹⁵ Interestingly only Macdonald's poem expressed any regret at leaving Scotland or disappointment in Upper Canada. He pointed out that there was much sorrow when the emigrants departed and he commented on Canada's long cold winters and the annoying insects of summer. Aside from this sorrow on departure and the justifiable comments on the Canadian climate, Macdonald's chief regret concerned not emigration but the effect which the integration of the Highlands into Lowland society had on western Inverness. In old age, the poet lamented that "not one of the seed of worthy chiefs" remained in the district and "our ancestors land [is now] under Lowland shepherds."

14 SCA Blairs Papers, Alexander McDonell to Alex Cameron, 14 June 1815.

15 Iain Iath Macdonald's "Oran" was published in the Glengarry News and a copy survives in a scrapbook of Gaelic poetry owned by John J. MacLeod of Glen Nevis, Lancaster Township. Anna McGillis's poem, "Canada Ard," appeared in The Gaelic Bards from 1825 to 1875, edited by A. Maclean Sinclair, (Sydney, Cape Breton, 1904), 7-8.

Part of the appeal that Glengarry had for the emigrants was their virtual freedom there from the control of landlords. Macdonald explained that he was now "lively with no harassment under the sun," while McGillis pointed out that Father Alexander had, like Moses, led his people "out of the country of bondage" to a place where "no landlords will oppress us." McGillis was overwhelmed by the fertility and richness of the land in Glengarry; the familiar image of America as a land of plenty is visible in her description of its wheat, sugar-maples, grapes and wine. But what guaranteed the emigrants' freedom from want and oppression was the land which they could acquire in Upper Canada. The emigrants had "obtained townships for themselves" in Glengarry, and as McGillis reported in Canada, unlike Scotland, the clansmen themselves had "firm title from the king" for their farms.

It is beyond the limits of this thesis to describe and analyse the nature of the society that was created in Glengarry County. The circumstances of emigration and settlement in the county favoured a substantial degree of cultural continuity, which could only be thoroughly examined in a detailed study of the society and economy of Glengarry during the first two generations of settlement. Such a complex, long-term analysis -- one made more difficult by the relative paucity of local records for Glengarry before 1840 -- could not be included in a thesis that did justice to the origins and immediate consequences of emigration. This study of emigration to Glengarry County does, however, establish the nature of the social and cultural baggage which the clansmen brought with them to Upper Canada. The implications of this inheritance in the life-time of the emigrants and throughout the county's history are discussed briefly in the following paragraphs.

The Highlanders who came to Glengarry County did not emigrate in order to pursue individual economic success, or more particularly to become model "improving" farmers. As previous chapters made clear, the clansmen left western Inverness principally because of their traditional desire for land and loyalty to community. Once in Glengarry and on land of their own, the emigrants sought a way of making their livelihood that was compatible with traditional Gaelic social practices. It is thus not surprising that in 1808 Father Alexander Macdonell reported that:

for Several years past owing to the advanced prices of Lumber & potash which now employs not only the young people but almost every young & old who are able to work at all,... agriculture & the raising of grain is entirely neglected & their lands converted to grassing farms & the breeding of Cattle, the mode of life in which they have been brought up from their Infancy & the most congenial to the nature of a Highlander.¹⁶

The different physical environment and economic opportunities of Upper Canada would only slowly change the expectations and habits of the Glengarry settlers. The social institutions of an English colony, including schools and representative institutions, would also encourage some assimilation over the long-term. An oral account of the first election for the Upper Canadian assembly reveals the Highlanders' enthusiastic participation in what must have been an alien custom. Most heads of family in the county met the property qualification for the franchise; Donald Sutherland testified that on election day in the summer of 1792, "the candidates couldn't speak english very well & their efforts at speachifying were comical."¹⁷ The emigrants seemingly

16 AAQ Haut Canada, III-21, Alexander MacDonell, St. Raphael, to Bishop Plessis, 19 Nov 1808.

17 PAC MG29 C29 Notebook...Donald Sutherland, 8. Sutherland's comment on the use of English suggests that the Highlanders believed that such a foreign, English practice as an election, required the use of English to be done properly, even if few of the participants understood English.

had responded to this new practice by making it the occasion of a Highland social gathering, quite unlike the rough male-only elections that were typical of Upper Canada. While two men were elected to represent Glengarry County, their position as leaders of the community was assured by tradition as well: Capt. John and Lieut. Hugh Macdonell were sons of Alexander of Aberchalder, one of the leaders of the 1773 emigration. The clansmen accepted the political institutions of their new home, but in early years these merely expressed traditional Highland values and concerns.

While the inheritance of all the people of Glengarry was Highland, there were nonetheless separate local loyalties within the emigrant groups. One nineteenth century resident of the county reported that "there was a feeling between the Knoydart and Glengarry people which continued to a certain extent in the colony."¹⁸ If tensions among Macdonalds survived the Atlantic crossing, clan and religious differences dividing, for instance, Macdonalds, Camerons and McLeods, were also easily carried to Upper Canada. Given the pattern of settlement by emigrant, and hence by community, group in Glengarry, such differences were readily perpetuated in the new county. Even today, local people refer to the quite distinct characteristics of Maxville, Dunvegan, Kirkhill, Lochiel and St. Raphaels. Each of these communities was settled primarily by a cohesive group of emigrants: the 1817-20 Congregationalists, the Glenelg-Skye emigrants, the 1793 party, the 1792 group, and the 1785-86 emigrants respectively. It is not implausible to suggest that the varied personalities of today's communities reflect, in part, the slightly different backgrounds of the emigrant groups of 150 to 200 years ago.

18 Ibid., Notebook (4) ...1st page blank, James Duncan Macdonald's evidence is followed by loose notes, 2.

But apart from these very local distinctions, a new, county-wide identity grew up with the settlement. The people of Knoydart, Lochiel, Glengarry, Morar, Glenelg, Kintail, Bracadale, and Loch Tay were knit into a new Glengarry community, its ties of kinship and neighbourhood as dense as those of any Highland parish in the eighteenth century. This new identity is symbolized in the title of one of the local clan genealogies, The MacLeods of Glengarry: this is surely an anomaly in Scottish terms, but it is a cherished identity in Canada. The Highlanders of western Inverness were pleased with what they found in Upper Canada. Whether it was phrased as Anna McGillis's "land and liberty and happiness," or as Aeneas Macdonald's, "a Country where reigns peace & plenty," the pride of the people of Glengarry in their new home was overwhelming and visible for all to see. That pride resounds in the stories of Ralph Connor, where Highland lumbermen rally with the cry, "Glengarry," and in the tales of the county which led a stranger to ask its native sons, "is Glengarry in Canada or Canada in Glengarry?"¹⁹ The achievement of the emigrants from western Inverness in building "a new Glengarry" is part of the history of both Scotland and Canada.

19 Ralph Connor, The Man from Glengarry, (London 1901). Also Glengarry News, 28 April 1933, account of Mr. Alston's visit to Montreal.

Appendix A

It is difficult to provide an accurate assessment of the Barisdale population in the second half of the eighteenth century. Three sets of population figures survive for this period, but they are, unfortunately, mutually incompatible. In addition, none of these statistics is specific enough to single out the population of Barisdale. It is necessary therefore to compare the three sets of figures, to adjust those which are evidently inadequate, and to estimate the population of Barisdale from information regarding all three estates on the Knoydart peninsula.

The private census compiled by Alexander Webster in 1755 included a statement of the population of Glenelg parish, whose bounds extend over the peninsulas of Glenelg, Knoydart and North Morar. Since the inhabitants of Glenelg were entirely Protestant and those of Knoydart and North Morar exclusively Roman Catholic, Webster's figure of 827 Roman Catholics can confidently be equated with his estimate of the population of the two southern peninsulas.¹ In 1764 the Scottish Roman Catholic hierarchy prepared a census of their congregations in the Highlands. Bishop Macdonell reported that Knoydart had 960 inhabitants and North Morar had 409, all of them Roman Catholic.² If both the 1755 and the 1764 figures could be accepted as accurate, then the population of these two districts rose from 827 to 1369 inhabitants, a rate of increase of 65% over nine years. Clearly such an increase did not occur and the two figures are incompatible. I have chosen to accept the 1764 Roman Catholic census of its own

1 James Kyd, Scottish Population Statistics including Webster's Analysis of Population, 1755, (Edinburgh, 1952), 59.

2 Rev. Roderick Macdonald, "The Highland District in 1764," The Innes Review, vol. XV (1964) 2, 150.

congregation, and have set aside as less reliable the 1755 figure, which the Protestant minister resident in the peninsula of Glenelg provided.

A third set of figures, found in the Old Statistical Account, also describes the population of Glenelg parish, this time in 1793. The local Protestant minister then reported that 1,000 people lived in Knoydart, from which another 800 had emigrated, and that 460 people lived in North Morar, whence no emigration had occurred. Of course, no accurate assessment of the natural increase of population is possible unless the emigrants are included in population totals. A comparison of the 1793 figures with those of the 1764 Roman Catholic census shows virtually a doubling of the population in Knoydart in contrast to a modest 11% increase in North Morar. Such a difference between two relatively similar districts is highly improbable. Information that I have collected concerning emigration from western Inverness strongly suggests that only some 460 people had emigrated from Knoydart, while some 160 had left North Morar, by 1793.³ If the Old Statistical Account figures are adjusted to this level, the Knoydart population of 1,000 would have reached at least 1,460, and the North Morar population of 460 would have surpassed 620, had no emigration taken place. The total potential population of Knoydart and North Morar in 1793 was thus close to 2080, a substantial, but credible increase of over 50% in the twenty-nine years from 1764.⁴

3 It seems highly probable that Knoydart emigrants before 1793 went only to Glengarry County; these were the 430 in 1786, 4 in 1790 and 26-odd in 1793. Similarly, North Morar emigrants, 40 in 1786, 10 in 1790 and 40 in 1792, went to Glengarry Co., and as many as 70 may have gone to the Maritime colonies in 1791. See the following chapters for an exact account of the emigration of these years.

4 Youngson has suggested that population on the west coast increased by 60% between 1755 and 1811; he has not attempted the difficult task of calculating the real rate of increase which would include the emigrants and their offspring. I therefore believe that a 50% increase over 29 years is not unlikely. (Youngson, After the Forty-Five, 162).

It seems probable that the annual rate of increase in the population of Knoydart and North Morar was only slightly less substantial between 1755 and 1764 than it was between 1764 and 1793. I have therefore assumed that in 1755 the population of Knoydart was 835 and that of North Morar 355, and that it increased at a rate totalling 15% over the next nine years, in order to reach the figures in the Roman Catholic census, which have been accepted as tolerably accurate.

Any attempt to assess where in Knoydart these 835 people lived is fraught with difficulty. There were three estates on the peninsula, Glengarry's, Scotus', and the forfeited estate of Barisdale. A comparison of the three properties, whether of the number of farms, the amount of rent paid, or the number of cattle kept, suggests that Barisdale's and Glengarry's estates were roughly equal in size, while Scotus' was half as large.⁵ Given the basically similar level of agriculture on the three estates, it is likely that some 40% of the population of Knoydart, 334 people, were resident in Barisdale in 1755.

5 For Barisdale, see Statistics of the Annexed Estates 1755-6, 4-5. For Scotus, see Fraser-Mackintosh, "The Macdonells of Scotos," *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness*, XVI, 79-88. For Glengarry's lands in Knoydart, see SRO GD44/25/28, *Estimates of Glengarry's estate*; and GD44/25/29, *Division & Arrangement of Knoydart*.

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